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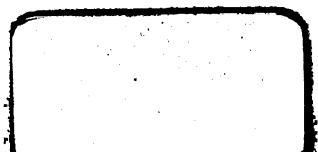
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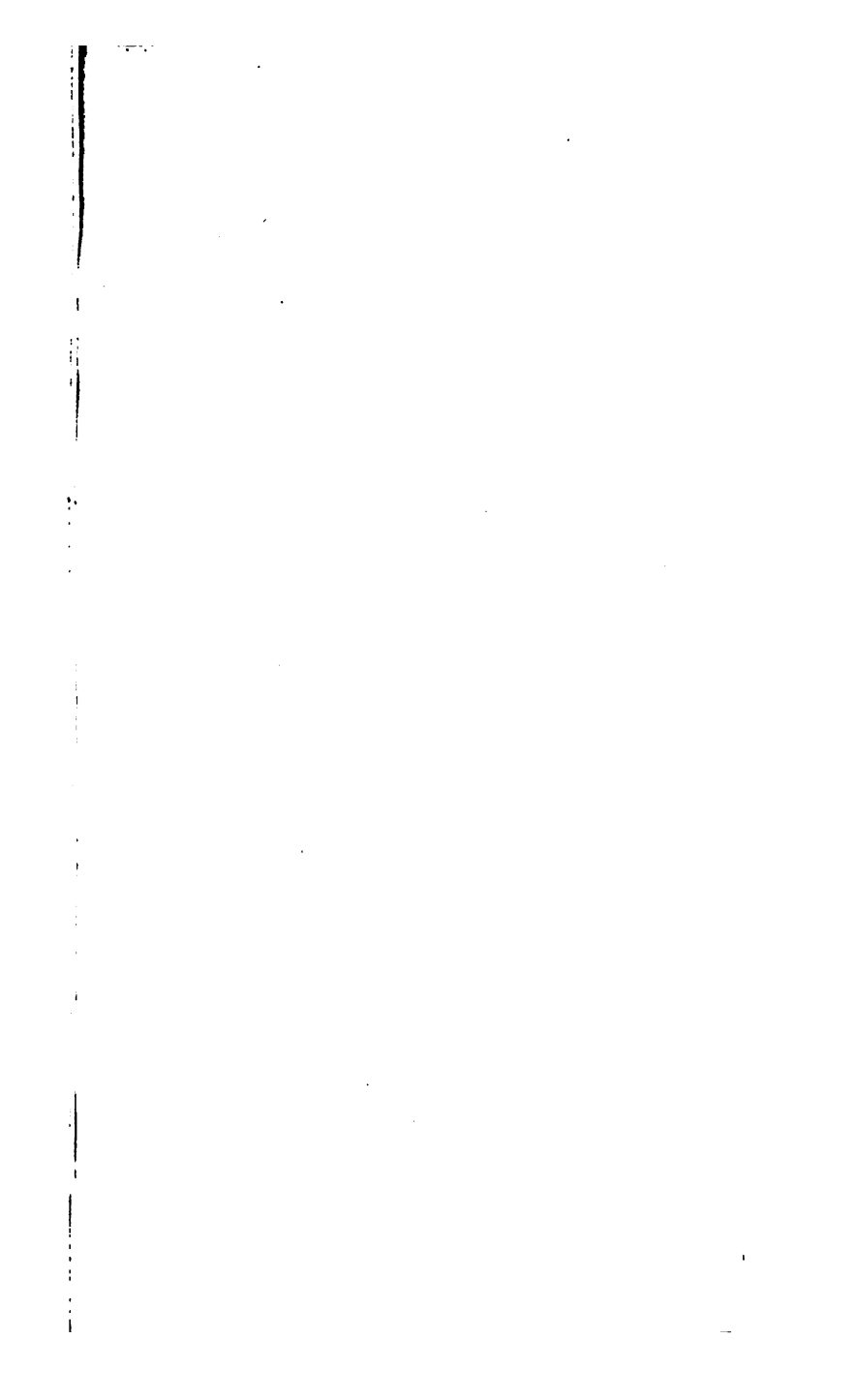
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A
DESCRIPTION
OF THE
ANTIQUITIES AND OTHER CURIOSITIES
OF
ROME:
FROM PERSONAL OBSERVATION
DURING
A VISIT TO ITALY IN THE YEARS 1818-19.
WITH
ILLUSTRATIONS FROM ANCIENT AND MODERN WRITERS.

BY THE
REV. EDWARD BURTON, M.A.
LATE STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH.

Vieni a veder la tua Rôma che piagne,
Vedova, sola, e dì e notte chiama.
Dante, Purg. vi. 112.

SECOND EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS,
IN TWO VOLUMES
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PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.



THE visit to Rome, which gave rise to the publication of the following pages, was made in the end of the year 1818 and the beginning of 1819. The writer passed on the whole four months in Rome, a period, which will be found quite sufficient for seeing all the curiosities of the place, if a person is inclined to be active. The time, which has elapsed since returning to England, has been partly employed in reading the accounts of modern travellers, and the more laborious compositions of Italian antiquaries.

Some objection may be anticipated to the design of this work, as not sufficiently following any particular system, but being desultory and irregular. In the first place, I must disclaim ever having entertained the idea of publishing a book of travels; not but what many, which have appeared lately, are extremely entertaining, and



have afforded me much information: but it was precisely because they were already so numerous, that I did not wish or presume to add one more to the number.

Still however some work was wanting, which, beside barely describing the objects seen, might throw some light upon their history. The antiquities, the churches, the works of art, the religious customs, and many other points connected with Rome, will bear to be treated of much more at length, than by merely conveying to the reader the impressions which passed at the time in the mind of the traveller who viewed them.

It was with this design that I have directed my attention to publications of an older date than the amusing descriptions of modern travellers. It was my wish to compose a work, which might be of some use to my countrymen who visit Rome, while it was not without entertainment to those who are satisfied with reading accounts of it at home. Whether this object has been in any way attained, others must decide.

Many things are omitted, which a journal of a residence in Rome might be expected to notice; but they are purposely left out, from the desire of describing nothing which I had not myself seen.

It has been my aim in every instance to point

out the sources, to which I have for any information or remarks have been accustomed to no ences, and to transcribe them have received various corrections will make allowances for the of such acknowledgments.

In the quotations from translation will generally be original words were important transcribed at length. If it is this has in some instances been exactly understanding the passage may perhaps not be wholly expect this charge not to be in any specific instance, will obliging my readers and myself of the passage in question.

In giving the dimensions of form scale has been adopted been made indifferently to or Italian measures. When give the relative proportions plan will of course cause in copying from any travel best to give the measure marking the country in which

out reducing them all to the English or any other standard.

Much of what is in the text would by many modern writers be thrown into the notes: but the other plan has been preferred, both for the sake of diversifying what might otherwise be a dry and uninteresting detail, and because many readers consider it perfectly lawful to pass over the *small letters* which are crowded in at the bottom of the page.

The present edition contains many additions and corrections. It is hoped that the additions will be found interesting and entertaining, having been the result of a more extended reading upon the subject, and particularly of a perusal of several works, which have appeared since the publication of the first edition. I ought perhaps to specify Nibby's two most valuable works upon the *Foro Romano*, and the *Contorni di Roma*.

A

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES AND OTHER CURIOSITIES

OF

ROME.

Et quæ tanta fuit Romam tibi causa videndi ?

VIRG. Bucol. I. 27.

What cause so urgent turn'd your steps to Rome ?

THE motto prefixed to this work contains a question, which every person visiting Rome perhaps has not put to himself. That there is something in the past and present state of Rome, which excites a peculiar interest, we might perhaps say a peculiar enthusiasm, in those who read any account of it, seems unquestionably true. Even those who have not read at all, know perhaps more of the Romans than of any other nation which has figured in the world. If we prefer modern history to ancient, we still find Rome in every page ; and if we look with composure upon an event so antiquated as the fall of the Roman empire, we cannot, as Englishmen or as Protestants, contemplate

with indifference the second empire, which Rome erected over the minds and consciences of men. Without making any invidious allusion, we may say, that this second empire has nearly passed away. So that in both points of view we have former recollections to excite our curiosity: and the desire is surely a laudable one to compare the character, the manners, the religion, the domestic habits, of the ancient inhabitants of Rome, with those of their present descendants.

Such being the general enthusiasm which is professed by all who visit *the Eternal City*, much censure may be anticipated for some of the sentiments which are expressed in the following pages. The writer of them will be accused of a coldness and insensibility to those venerable objects of antiquity, which ought on every occasion to have warmed his fancy and animated his descriptions. While he is thus preparing an excuse for himself, he does not wish to quarrel with those who, on every topic connected with Roman remains, suffer their enthusiasm to outrun their judgment. Far from questioning their sincerity, when they make their descriptions a series of encomiastic exclamations, he only begs leave to hazard an opinion in opposition to them: and if any account here given may fall short of what imagination had depicted, it will proceed from the writer having expressed not the feelings of the moment, such as the first impression would raise, but the result of repeated visits to the same object. It is, undoubtedly, amusing to read the

travels of a writer, who is buoyed up by such constant animation, as Mr. Eustace; but the feelings of the individual are not always interesting to general readers: at least I have not presumed to think mine worth the communication; and having found my own opinions so frequently change, and the delight, which the first impression caused, subside into a more temperate and a more qualified admiration, I thought it safer to expose myself to the charge of coldness and indifference, than to that of an overheated imagination, and an universal style of admiration. If this book should ever be read by any person visiting Rome, he will probably not find fault with it in this respect. Before he arrives there, he may be angry at an attempt to lower the enthusiasm with which his classical reading and the accounts of travellers had inspired him. But (if it is not arrogance to anticipate agreement with my own sentiments) he may be inclined to withdraw his censure, after he has seen the objects themselves: and his disappointment, if he feel any, will be lessened, by having been taught beforehand to reduce the scale of his expectations.

It is a very trite remark, that different persons view the same thing with different eyes. This could not be illustrated more pointedly, than by the various impressions produced by the first view of Rome. Mr. Eustace and others have professed themselves transported and overcome by the first sight. They undoubtedly were so. But it surely does not argue a want of feeling and an absence

of classical recollections, if others have entered Rome, suffering more from disappointment than from rapture. This is a case in which writers in giving their descriptions must communicate the first impression. In saying that I was disappointed in entering Rome by the Florence road, so far from acknowledging a want of enthusiasm or an indifference to ancient times, it was because I had allowed my mind to anticipate so much, that I was mortified at not finding those anticipations realised. Those who are not struck with admiration at the first view, generally suffer not from the want of feeling in themselves, but from the exuberance of it in others. So it is with respect to the descriptions of Rome, and the impression actually raised by it.

Most people picture to themselves a certain spot, from whence the towers and domes of the *Eternal City* burst upon their view. St. Peter's, with its cupola, the immense ruins of the Colosseum, the Pillar of Trajan, and such well-known objects, are all crowded into the ideal scene; and the imagination is raised to the utmost pitch in expectation of every moment unfolding this glorious prospect. The traveller, after feasting upon this hope, and using it to console himself for the barrenness of the Campagna and the uninteresting uniformity of the view, approaches nearer and nearer without reaching the expected spot. His tour-book tells him, that near the Post of Baccano, fourteen miles from Rome, the dome of St. Peter's is first visible. This will be the commencement

of his delight. But he still disregards this speck in the horizon, anxiously looking for the happier moment, when the whole city is discovered. This moment unfortunately never arrives. Where that place is to be found in the approach from Florence, which affords such a feast to the eye and to the imagination, I never could discover. The view of Rome from the Monte Mario,* a hill near this road, is perhaps one of the noblest and the most affecting which the world could produce; and it may be suspected that some writers, full of the gratification which this prospect afforded, have transferred it in description to their first entrance. But the road itself discloses the city by degrees. Scarcely any of it is seen till within a small distance, and then, with the exception of St. Peter's, there are few buildings of interest. The antiquities lie mostly on the other side, and are not seen at all. The suburbs themselves are not picturesque; and the traveller finds himself actually in Rome, before he had given up the hopes of enjoying the distant prospect of it.

Had he entered the city from Naples, his feelings might have been very different. This is the direction from which Rome ought to be entered, if we wish our classical enthusiasm to be raised by the first view. The Campagna is here even more desolate, and to a greater extent, than it is on the

* It was anciently called *Clivus Cinna*, and by Dante *Montemalo*: Par. xv. 109. The modern name is said to have come from Mario Millini, who had property upon this hill in the time of Sextus IV.

side of Florence. For several miles the ground is strewn with ruins; some presenting considerable fragments, others only discernible by the inequality of the surface. It seems as if the cultivators of the soil had not dared to profane the relics of their ancestors: and from the sea on the left to the Apennines on the right the eye meets with nothing but desolation and decay of grandeur.^b The Aqueducts rise above the other fragments, and seem purposely placed here to carry us back to the time of the Republic. The long lines of these structures stretch out in various directions; the arches are sometimes broken down, but the effect is heightened by these interruptions. In short, in travelling the last twelve miles on this road, the mind may indulge in every reflection upon Roman greatness, and find the surrounding scenery perfectly in unison. From this road, too, the whole city is actually surveyed. The domes and cupolas are more numerous than from any other quarter, beside which some of the ancient edifices themselves are added to the picture. After entering the walls, we pass the Colosseum, catch a view of the Forum, the Capitol, and other antiquities, which were familiar to us from ancient authors. .

Such is the entrance to Rome from the side of Naples; the sublimity of which exceeds any thing that Italy can produce, and of which no description can be exaggerated. The entrance from

^b The Saracens in the ninth century appear to have laid waste all the country in the neighbourhood of Rome. Vide *Johannis VIII. Epist. 30. Script. Franc. p. 473.*

Florence is in every way inferior. There are a few tombs by the road side, but only association can make them interesting; whereas the Aqueducts on the other road are in themselves noble objects. After crossing the Tiber by the Ponte Molle, the suburbs of Rome may be said to commence: and the road not being very broad, the houses themselves intercept a prospect of the city. The traveller, if he came to Rome by Perugia, will have seen the Tiber before, having crossed it not far from the latter town, and again between Otricoli and Borghetto over a bridge built by Augustus. The Ponte Molle, anciently Pons Æmilius and Mulvius, or Milvius, is a handsome bridge of four arches, with a modern archway upon it, under which carriages pass. This spot is rendered celebrated by the battle between Constantine and Maxentius, A.D. 312, not far from the bridge.

The walls of Rome have a venerable and imposing appearance, fit to form the introduction to such a city. On either side of the Porta del Popolo they have been repaired at various times, and particularly in the sixth century by Belisarius: but probably much of his work does not remain. The Porta del Popolo is altogether a modern structure, having been erected by Pius IV. about 1560. The ancient entrance to Rome on this side was by the Via Flaminia and under the Porta Flaminia, which was built by Aurelian, and stood a little to the east of the present gate. This leads into an irregular open space, which, from being

the first part of Rome actually seen, attracts more attention than it would otherwise obtain. Three streets branch off from it; the middle one of which is the Corso, the principal street in Rome. It runs in the same direction as the ancient Via Lata, but is too narrow to produce any effect. The two Churches^c at the commencement of it were built in 1662; about which time the whole of this Piazza was cleared of many incumbrances, in honour of the entrance of Christina, Queen of Sweden. The traveller will soon be called off from the pleasing reveries, in which he has been indulging upon finding himself really in Rome, by a demand for his passport, and by an order to proceed to the custom-house. The latter inconvenience may be dispensed with by procuring a permission to pass unexamined by a *Lascia passare*, which it is not difficult to obtain. The road to the custom-house leads by the column of M. Aurelius; and the custom-house itself presents a noble remnant of antiquity, having been the temple of Antoninus Pius.

Having thus landed the traveller in Rome, I shall pause for a while to give him some notion of what he is to expect. The Curiosities of Rome may be divided into the Antiquities, the Churches, and the Palaces; an order of classification which will partly be observed in the following descriptions. The Antiquities, as forming the more peculiar attraction in this city, deserve the first place.

^c S. Maria di Monte Santo, and S. M. dei Miracoli.

If a person expects to find here such magnificent remains as he has read of at Athens, he will be grievously disappointed. It is highly necessary to know, that whatever exists here, as a monument of ancient times, has suffered from various calamities. There is much truth in the remark of Pope,

Some felt the silent stroke of mould'ring age,
 Some hostile fury, some religious rage:
 Barbarian blindness, Christian zeal conspire,
 And Papal piety, and Gothic fire.

Epistle to Addison.

Nor were physical causes wholly unemployed in completing the destruction. Gregory,^d after mentioning Totila's threat of utterly destroying Rome, adds, "To whom the man of the Lord replied, "Rome shall not be exterminated by barbarians, "but shall consume away internally, exhausted "by tempests, lightning, whirlwinds, and earthquakes. The mysteries of which prophecy are "now revealed to us clearer than light; for we "see the walls dissolved, houses overthrown, "churches destroyed by whirlwinds, and the "buildings sinking from age."

Muratori^e endeavours to free the Goths from the charge of destroying all the monuments of Roman greatness; and certainly Theodoric does not appear to have had any such view; but on the contrary several buildings in Rome were repaired by him, as we learn from the work of his

^d Dialog. lib. ii. c. 15.

^e Diss. sopra le Antichità Ital. tom. i. diss. 23, 24.

minister Cassiodorus.^f With respect to the pillage, which the different invaders committed, perhaps some exaggerated notions are entertained. A dissertation has been written expressly by Bár-gæus, which is inserted in the fourth volume of the Thesaurus of Grævius, to prove, that the Goths and Vandals contributed little or nothing towards the demolition of Rome. This perhaps is going somewhat too far on the other side. We must recollect, that the principal object of the barbarians, as they were then styled by the degenerate Romans, was to collect money. They bore no professed hostility to the works of art, and a bronze statue was destroyed by them, not from want of taste, but because it could be melted into a more useful form. In the confusion of a midnight attack, and with the exasperation, which naturally follows resistance, some parts of the city would probably be consumed by fire. The accounts of the historians, who were contemporary, or wrote shortly after, are very contradictory; and it is difficult to elicit from them a true notion of the mischief that was really committed. The remark, however, made above will be of use, while we are consulting these authors, that moveable plunder, not a wanton destruction of buildings, was the object, which actuated the victorious enemy.

A brief review of the events, which accompanied each successive pillage under the Goths and

^f Lib. i. Var. Epist. 25, 28. lib. ii. ep. 7, 34. lib. iii. ep. 29, 31.

Vandals, will perhaps be necessary to enable us to judge of the injury inflicted. Since the burning of Rome by the Gauls in U. C. 365, or A. C. 388, no enemy had ever set foot within the sacred city. Alaric broke the charm, when he entered it with his army of Goths in 410. This was the third time that he had laid siege to it. In 409 he had been bribed to remove, and upon the promise of receiving five thousand pounds of gold and thirty thousand pounds of silver, beside other valuables, he engaged to raise the siege. Great difficulty was found in collecting the stipulated sum; and it is stated that some treasures, which had been taken in former wars and turned to sacred purposes, were employed to pacify the invader.^g The second siege was also in 409, but nothing of importance resulted from it.^h In 410 he entered Rome, as was stated, by the Porta Salara. His troops remained in it six days. Cassiodorus asserts, that they committed great havoc there, and that many of the wonders of the city were burnt;ⁱ and in another place he speaks of the great booty which was collected.^k Against this we have the statement of Jornandes,^l that

^g For the events of the first siege, vid. Zosimus, lib. v. p. 350—4. Sozomen. lib. ix. c. 6. Olympiod. apud Phot. p. 180. Philostorg. lib. xii. c. 3.

^h Vid. Zosimus, lib. v. p. 368.

ⁱ Hist. Eccles. lib. xi. c. 9.

^k Lib. xii. Var. Epist. 20. Socrates agrees in both these statements, lib. vii. c. 10.

^l C. 30.

they only plundered, but did not set fire to any building, or suffer any sacred property to be injured. Cassiodorus himself confirms the latter part of this account, so that we may fairly conclude, that the invaders felt some religious scruples in their pillage. We can, however, scarcely doubt that much injury was committed by fire. That Alaric entered by the Porta Salaria, is well known; and the account of his burning the houses in the neighbourhood, is confirmed by the assertion of Procopius, that the house of Sallust remained a heap of ruins in his days.^m

The next siege was in 455, when Genseric entered the city at the head of the Vandal army. Here, again, we have conflicting statements. It seems clear, from all hands, that several ships were loaded with spoil, and sent to Africa. Procopiusⁿ mentions statues and medals; and adds, that nothing which was beautiful in the city escaped him. The bronze tiles, which covered the Capitol, and the Jewish spoils, which had been brought to Rome by Titus, are expressly mentioned. It would seem that the former could only have been taken for their intrinsic value;

^m Vid. Procop. de Bello Vand. lib. i. c. 2. Orosius, lib. vii. c. 39. Sozomen. lib. ix. c. 9. Philostorg. lib. xii. c. 3. The expression of this latter writer, who lived at the time, is very strong: "All this mightiness of glory, and this celebrity of power, was portioned out between the fire of strangers, the sword of enemies, and captivity among barbarians: and while the city was lying in ruins, Alaric," &c.

ⁿ De Bello Vand. lib. i. c. 4, 5. lib. ii. c. 9.

and we might fancy the same of the Jewish vessels, if we did not know that they were in existence several years after: so that the conqueror appears to have had some affection for the works of art, and would probably not have encouraged their wanton destruction upon the spot. One writer,^o beside mentioning the general pillage, adds, that the most remarkable buildings were burnt. While another^p says, generally, that the city was burnt. On the other hand, we are told^q that Genseric withheld both fire and sword, at the intercession of St. Leo. That the Pope gained some favourable terms, seems probable; and the truth perhaps is, that though Genseric did not authorize any general conflagration, yet his lawless soldiers occasionally violated his orders, either from carelessness or revenge. The pillage certainly lasted fourteen days.

Between the sieges by Genseric and Totila, Rome probably suffered as much from its own inhabitants, as from any of its invaders; though the damage is, in this instance, partly to be ascribed to the tokens that the latter had left behind them of their visit. We have a decree of the Emperor Majorian,^r issued shortly after the retreat of Genseric, by which he puts a check to the system, then very generally practised, of de-

^o Nicephorus, lib. xv. c. 11.

^p Evagrius, lib. ii. c. 7.

^q Paulus Diaconus, lib. xv.

^r Noyell. Maj. Tit. vi. p. 35.

molishing the ancient edifices. It is probable, that the citizens, as soon as the Vandal army had retired, found that they had much to do in repairing the damages which they had inflicted; and for this purpose the ancient buildings, some of which were already in decay, were very unsparingly devoted to patch up the private houses.

In 546, another Gothic army entered Rome, under Totila: a third part of the walls was thrown down, and there seems little doubt as to what were the conqueror's intentions, when he threatened to level the city with the ground and turn it into pasture; fortunately, however, the remonstrance of Belisarius made an impression upon his mind; and even a Gothic general thought it more glorious for posterity to allow him the power to have destroyed Rome, than to execrate him for having actually done so. He appears to have confined his devastation to the destruction, already mentioned of the walls. Perhaps he afterwards repented of his clemency, and his attention to posthumous fame. For as soon as he quitted the city, Belisarius entered it; and in 549 he was again induced to besiege it, and again became master of it. But it seems certain, that at this time he inflicted no injury upon the inhabitants or the buildings. The Goths began to see that they were as likely to keep possession of Rome as their degenerate enemies; and though their dominion ceased very shortly after the death of Totila, yet he could not foresee such a catastrophe, when

he last occupied Rome; and, in sparing the city, he conceived that he was doing a service, not to the inhabitants, but to his own people.

Though the superabundant zeal of the Popes has been charged with the destruction of Pagan monuments, they have also had their defenders; and Tiraboschi labours, apparently with much reason, to rescue Gregory the Great from this imputation.^s The Greeks of Constantinople must also partake in the guilt of this spoliation. According to Paulus Diaconus,^t and Anastasius,^u the Emperor Constans carried off from Rome, in the year 663, all the bronze statues and ornaments which he could find. This was by no means uncommon with the Greek Emperors: and we can scarcely help reflecting upon the singular vicissitudes of the works of art, as connected with Roman history. Greece, when she submitted to Rome, yielded up to the conqueror all her treasures of art; and the Romans really fancied that they had some taste, because their galleries were ornamented with works of Grecian sculpture.^v After the Empire was divided, and both branches of it were in decay, the Eastern, which was longer in falling, exercised its power in despoiling Rome; and probably many statues travelled to Constan-

^s Storia Letteraria d'Italia, tom. iii. part i. p. 121, &c.

^t Hist. Lang. lib. v. c. 11.

^u In Vita S. Vitaliani. See also Platina.

^v Burton, in his Anatomy of Melancholy, says quaintly, "Those old Romans rob'd all the cities of the world, to set
" out their bad-sited Rome."

tinople, which had crossed the sea some centuries before in their voyage to Italy. Even those which Genseric had carried off to Africa, found their way to Constantinople, when the Vandals were in turn conquered by Belisarius. We know that many of the most beautiful statues, and other curiosities, were destroyed by a fire, which consumed the Lausian palace at Constantinople, about the year 475.* Some of them again retraced their steps, when Constantinople was sacked by the Venetians, in 1204.

From these several causes, to which Rome has been more exposed than any other city, nothing here is perfect. If we except the Pantheon, (and that has suffered dreadful spoliation on the outside,) the ancient remains have been so mutilated and destroyed, that even the name is in many cases doubtful. No small portion of classical recollection is necessary to supply the deficiency; and he who visits Rome destitute of this, will probably form a low estimate of the interest excited by the antiquities. As a place of residence, Rome is certainly not gay or cheerful; the palaces, though splendid in their exterior, are dirty and neglected; the works of the fine arts are the only objects which it is impossible not to admire and be satisfied with: so that, if any one leaves Rome with an impression of disappointment, it may be inferred that his reading had not supplied him with a sufficient store of classical knowledge

* Zonar. Annal. lib. xiv. p. 52.

to enable him to fill up the ravages which time had made. Rome, compared with Athens, is like the collection of the Elgin Marbles compared with the sculptures in the Vatican. In the latter collection, beside the usual prepossession in favour of every thing ancient, we have positive beauty and symmetry in the objects themselves; in the British Museum, we have rather a record how far time may go in ruining the works of art, and yet not destroy the admiration which they excite. But still, some taste for antiquities, and some classical reminiscences, are necessary, before we can enjoy such mutilated fragments. And so it is with Rome. No other city is so calculated to raise and keep up the finer feelings of the mind; no other can present to us, so forcibly and so tangibly, the histories which we have read with so much delight, or make us sympathise so strongly with the catastrophes of patriots and heroes. Much, however, of all this enthusiasm is to be brought into Rome, in addition to what is inspired on the spot. Perhaps the best way to view the city, if we wish to preserve our admiration, is to take a hasty survey of all the Antiquities, and then to pass on. A long residence there is certainly calculated to diminish the interest which they excited: recollection may supply many deficiencies at the first view, and may, perhaps, increase our enjoyment by contrasting the ancient with the present state. But recollection is not a source from which we should draw too often. To enable us constantly to admire, something

intrinsically excellent is required; and in advising a short residence at Rome, it is not that I undervalue the Antiquities myself, but I am anxious that others should not undervalue them.

One complaint is made by many travellers, and deserves to be noticed: it is, that there are few or no monuments of the time of the Republic. The remark is one which is likely to be made; and the interest which we take in the Antiquities would certainly be heightened, if there were less foundation for such a complaint. It must not, however, be asserted, that there are no monuments of the time of the Republic. If any person came expecting to find perfect remains of beautiful buildings, which were prior to the age of Augustus, he would undoubtedly be disappointed; but I question whether, in expressing this disappointment, he does not also betray his own ignorance of history. The works of the Romans, in the early ages of their nation, were wonderful for their solidity and strength, but there seems no reason to suppose that much taste or elegance was displayed.

When the Gauls burnt Rome, U.C. 365, it may be concluded that few edifices escaped; so that, in looking for any works of the Republic, we must confine our research between the years 365 and 723, when the Republic terminated. We might mention four successive periods, in each of which the city must have assumed a different appearance from what it did in the age succeeding: 1. From the foundation to the burning of

Rome by the Gauls, **U. C. 365**; 2. From **365** to **723**, when the reign of **Augustus** commenced; 3. From **723** to **817**, (or **A. D. 64**), when the city was burnt in the time of **Nero**; when, out of the fourteen regions into which it was divided, only four remained untouched, three were entirely consumed, and seven survived in part; 4. From **A. D. 64** to **546**, (**U. C. 1300**), when **Totila** entered it, as **Alaric** and **Genseric** had done before him. That a great alteration took place in the appearance of **Rome**, during these periods, cannot be denied; but, on the other hand, we must not conclude that no buildings survived each successive shock, or that nothing still remains to present us a monument even of the first period.

Livy tells us,^z that when the city was rebuilt after the expulsion of the Gauls, it was laid out in a very irregular manner. "The city was begun to be built without any order. The public furnished tiles the great haste made them careless of forming the streets in straight lines, while without deciding what belonged to themselves or their neighbours, they built on the empty spaces. This is the reason that the

^y Another great fire happened in the reign of **Titus**, which lasted three days and nights. **Sueton. Tit. c. 8.** **J. Capitolinus** mentions another, in the reign of **Maximinus**; and if we are to take his expressions literally, the destruction caused by it must have been very extensive. He says of it, *Magna pars urbis incensa est*; and again, *Urbis pars maxima incenderetur*.

^z *Lib. v. c. ult.*

“ old sewers (*cloacæ*), which at first were carried
 “ through the public way, now pass under private
 “ houses in every direction; and the plan of the
 “ city more resembles one which had been sud-
 “ denly seized, than one which had been regu-
 “ larly parcelled out.” He says, in another place,^a
 that the new city was built in a year. Tacitus,^b
 also, talks of the houses being built in no order
 and at random, and of the streets being exces-
 sively winding and irregular. Suetonius^c com-
 plains of the “ deformity of the buildings, and
 “ the narrowness and windings of the streets.”
 In confirmation of which remark, other authorities
 might be quoted.^d This, however, might only
 apply to the streets and houses; the temples and
 public buildings *may*, at the same time, have been
 magnificent, but there is not the least evidence
 that they were so. In the second year after the
 destruction, “ the Capitol was underbuilt with
 “ square stones,” as we learn from Livy;^e and he
 adds, that it was a remarkable work, even in the
 magnificence of his own day. But this was rather
 a work of defence than of ornament. As to pri-
 vate buildings, the house of Lepidus is said by
 Pliny^f to have been the handsomest in Rome, in
 the year 676 U.C.; and, in another place,^g he
 tells us that the ornaments consisted of Numidian

^a Lib. vi. c. 4.

^b Annal. lib. xv. c. 43.

^c Vita Neronis, c. 38.

^d Vide Cic. Or. 2 de Lege Agr. c. 35.

^e Lib. vi. c. 4.

^f Lib. xxxvi. c. 24.

^g Lib. xxxvi. c. 8.

marble, which was used in large blocks, but not for columns. But the orator Crassus had a magnificent house a few years before this, U.C. 662, as we learn from the same Pliny,^b and Valerius Maximus.^c He had erected four columns of Hymettian (Athenian) marble in his hall, when as yet there were no marble pillars in any public building. As early, however, as U.C. 607, Q.C. Metellus had built a temple of marble, as we learn from Velleius,^d though perhaps there were no pillars of marble in it. The same Metellus built a portico, which was afterwards the portico of Octavia, and must have given a new impulse to taste and luxury, by the vast collection of statues which he brought from Greece. Scipio Nasica built a portico in the Capitol, about U.C. 594, and Cn. Octavius did the same in the Circus; after which, as Velleius^e says, "private luxury soon followed public magnificence." The first instance of a gilded roof was in the Capitol, when Mummius was censor, U.C. 612, after the destruction of Carthage:^m in short, the age of Roman luxury seems to have commenced with the fall of the last-mentioned city, and of Corinth.

The Romans, certainly, were not naturally a people of taste. They never excelled in the fine arts; indeed, scarcely the name of any Roman sculptor or painter of celebrity has been handed

^b Lib. xvii. c. 1.

^c Lib. ix. c. 1.

^d Lib. i. c. 11.

^e Lib. ii. c. 1.

^m Plin. lib. xxxiii. c. 18.

down to us. Their own writers invariably allow, that they were indebted to Greece for every thing which was elegant in the arts.^a In architecture, the only order which has any pretensions to claim a Roman origin, is the Composite, which is certainly less pleasing than the others; and of this, the earliest specimen in Rome is on the arch of Titus. We know that Greek marble was not used in their buildings till the close of the Republic; and since the connection with Greece began as early as the second Punic war, and the triumphs of Flaminius and Mummius, in 559 and 608, made the Romans acquainted with the productions of Grecian taste, it is natural that they should also have imported their marble from thence, if they had been engaged in buildings of any particular magnificence. Pliny says,^o that the custom of sawing marble was not introduced into Italy before the time of Augustus. Though we can scarcely credit this statement,—and we have certainly some proofs to the contrary,—we are bound to believe that it had not been long practised in Rome. The same author tells us,^p that the quarries at Luna, (now Carrara,) which he decides to produce a finer marble than that of Paros, were not opened long before his time. We must, however, give a little

^a Cicero's poor opinion of his countrymen's taste is clearly marked; when speaking of the works of art, he says, "It is astonishing how the Greeks are delighted with those things, which we despise." In Ver. Act. 2. l. 4. c. 60.

^o Lib. xxxvi. c. 8.

^p Lib. xxxvi. c. 4.

latitude to this expression: for he himself tells us,⁹ that in the time of J. Cæsar, Mamurra had ornamented his house with marble from Luna: and Strabo, who lived in the reign of Tiberius, mentions the quarries as being worked to a great extent in his day.^r The boast of Augustus, that he had found Rome of brick, and left it of marble,^s is of course to be taken in some respects as an imperial hyperbole:!! but the alteration, which took place in his reign, must have been very perceptible; or he would not have hazarded a comparison with the times of republican liberty, when he had so many safer grounds for boasting.

The monuments, which remain to us of an age prior to the Augustan, are, as was observed, of great solidity and strength. The Cloaca Maxima is one of the most wonderful works, which any people ever constructed. It seems indeed almost incredible, that in the time of Tarquinius Priscus, only 150 years from the foundation of the city, such a work could have been performed. If we follow the opinion of some chronologists, who shorten the reigns of the kings, the city had not existed nearly so many years, when this Cloaca was begun. But there is great mystery and confusion in the early history of Rome, particularly in that of the kings. I have sometimes been inclined to think, that there was a city here before the time of Romulus, and that his subjects did not actually begin from nothing. Virgil might

⁹ Lib. xxxvi. c. 7.

^r Lib. v.

^s Sueton. Aug. c. 29.

perhaps be quoted as countenancing this opinion: when Evander is showing his city to Æneas, he says,

Hæc duo præterea disiectis oppida muris
Reliquias veterumque vides monumenta virorum.
Hanc Janus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit Urbem;
Janiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen.
Æn. viii. 355.

And yet Ovid says, in more than one place, that when Evander landed in Italy, there were only a few cottages on the spot, where afterwards Rome was built. So vague and contradictory was tradition.

The Romans and the Tuscans do not claim a common origin, and yet there is a great resemblance in the strength and solidity of their works. Veii, which was a Tuscan town, was only a short day's march from Rome: and it is not likely, that

Vide Fast. lib. v. 93.

The situation of Veii has caused great disputes among the Antiquaries: but it seems now to be very satisfactorily placed at L' Isola Farnese, about twelve miles from Rome, not far from La Storta, the first post on the road to Perugia. In the time of Propertius the town had ceased to exist:

Nunc intra muros pastoris buccina lenti
Cantat, et in vestris ossibus arva metunt.

Lib. iv. el. 10. 29.

And Florus says of the city, "Who now recollects that it existed? What remains or vestige of it is there? It requires the utmost stretch of our faith in history, to believe that Veii existed."—Lib. i. c. 12. Eutropius calls it eighteen miles from Rome: (lib. i. c. 4. and 19.) but Pliny (lib. xv. c. ult.) and Suetonius (Galba, i.) if compared together, make it

this warlike and highly civilized people (for we must allow them to have been so,) would have taken no advantage of the seven hills, which were so near to their territory, if not in it. Great dissension is to be found amongst the Roman writers themselves, as to the date of the foundation of Rome: none, however, ascribe it to the Tuscans, unless we take the Aborigines to be Tuscans, which is not improbable. We must bear in mind, that history mentions two migrations of Greek colonies into Italy, the first of which took place about 600 years before the second. By the first I mean that of the Pelasgi, who came from ~~Asia~~ ^{Asia} and from Attica, and the Pelasgi, so-called Tyrrhenians, that is, Tuscans, by several writers. The second migration was that mentioned by Herodotus, as taking place in the days of Lycurgus and Thales; so that we have good reason to carry back the civilization of the Tuscans to a remote period. We should also recollect, that while Greece was convulsed with constant wars, the Tuscans seem to have enjoyed long continued periods of peace. Of their progress in the arts we have not so many specimens, as is sometimes supposed; for the vases,* which are so generally

only half that distance: and Dionysius (Antiq. lib. ii.) expressly places it at the distance of 100 *stadia*, or twelve miles. The Peutingerian Table does the same.

* Vide Dion. Hal. lib. i. c. 11, 13, 16, &c.

* Thucyd. lib. iv. c. 109. Plutarch de Virt. Mul. Dion. Hal. Antiq. lib. i. et xiii.

† Lib. i. c. 94.

† It is singular that as far back as the time of Julius Cæsar,

called Etruscan, are undoubtedly Grecian, and come almost all from the kingdom of Naples. If the conjecture of Father Paoli be true, that the temples at Pæstum are the work of Tuscans at a period long antecedent to the edifices of Greece, we have indeed a noble monument of their magnificence, though perhaps not of the elegance of their taste. The walls of Cortona also present a specimen of solidity, which seems to defy the lapse of ages.^a

Many make Æneas himself to have founded a city on the Palatine hill; and chronologists lay down four hundred and thirty-two years between Æneas and Romulus.^b We must not, however, indulge in unfounded conjecture; and when History unequivocally represents the Cloaca Maxima as the work of Tarquinius Priscus, we may perhaps be satisfied with recollecting, that this King was born in Tuscany of Grecian parents.^c Pliny^d speaks of its prodigious strength, and of the wonder of its having lasted seven hundred years. How much more ought we to be surprised, when

the tombs in Campania were opened in search of ancient vases. Sueton. J. Cæs. c. 81. The same was done at Corinth. Strabo, lib. viii.

^a A friend informs me, that he found the walls of Volterra to be composed of hewn masses from three to six tons weight, piled one upon another without cement.

^b These opinions may be seen in the third volume of the *Thesaurus* of Grævius.

^c "Quippe qui oriundus Corintho Græcum ingenium Italicis artibus miscuisset."—Florus, lib. i. c. 5.

^d Lib. xxxvi. c. 24.

CLOACA MAXIMA.

we can add nearly eighteen hundred to its duration! The stones employed are of an enormous size, and placed out any cement. There are three of one above the other. The height has been sufficient for a boat loaded with under it: it is reckoned now at six palms,^e and the width is the same, says that he measured it, and found sixteen feet.

According to Livy, the Cloaca Maxima was the object of the Tiber and its overflowings. "As the places near the streams: 'other valleys between the hills 'carry off the water from the sewers: 'drained them by carrying Dionysius 'level into the Tiber.'" Dionysius

nassus says the same thing; and of the immensity of the work, he Cloacæ having been neglected for required one thousand talents.

After the burning of Rome by the streets were rebuilt without regard of the Cloacæ; so that many of over them, as Livy tells us in the quoted, p. 20. Theodoric under of the Cloacæ, and the description the barbarous Latin of Cassiodorus

cording.^g "Quæ tantum vis

^e A palm equals 3·779 English inches.
^f Lib. i. c. 38.

“stuporem, ut aliarum civitatum possint miracula
 “superare. Videas illic fluvios quasi montibus
 “concavis clausos per ingentia *ligna*^b decurrere.
 “Videas structis navibus per aquas rapidas non
 “minima sollicitudine navigari, ne præcipitato tor-
 “renti marina possint naufragia sustinere. Hinc,
 “Roma, singularis quanta in te sit potest colligi
 “magnitudo! Quæ enim urbium audeat tuis cul-
 “minibus contendere, quando nec ima tua possunt
 “similitudinem reperire?” It is now upwards of
 two thousand years since this work was constructed;
 in which interval Rome has been rebuilt several
 times, and a vast accumulation of soil formed: it
 still however exists, and is to all appearance as
 firm as on the first day of its foundation. A view
 may be obtained of it at its mouth, where it flows
 into the Tiber, a little below the Ponte Rotto;
 and a portion of it may be seen near the Arch of
 Janus.

Another instance of the durability of Roman
 works may be seen in the Mamertine Prisons, on
 the descent of the Capitol towards the Forum.
 These are of great antiquity, and built like the
 Cloacæ of large uncemented stones. The founder
 was Ancus Martius, as we learn from Livy, who
 speaking of that king says, “he made a prison in
 “the middle of the city, overlooking the Forum.”
 Servius Tullius increased them, whence they were
 sometimes called Tullian. Varro says,^k that the

^b This word is evidently corrupt. A French author reads
stagna.

[†] Lib. i. c. 33.

^k De Ling. Lat. lib. iv.

part added by this latter king was under ground: and from two passages in Livy we may perhaps collect the same thing. Speaking of Pleminius, who was accused of high crimes, both civil and religious, he tells us,^l that he and his companions were thrown into prison; and at the same time he adduces the authority of Clodius Licinius, as stating that he was subsequently put into the *Tullianum*. This was U. C. 549. Livy seems afterwards to have forgotten, that he had thus anticipated the history of Pleminius upon the authority of Licinius; for he repeats the same story over again,^m where he informs us that Pleminius, being farther accused of a conspiracy to set fire to the city, was put into the lower prison, and killed. This was U. C. 559. These two passages clearly identify the lower prison with the *Tullianum*. It was also called *Robur*.ⁿ and if Livy had this place in view, when he speaks of *Carcer Laethymiarum*,^o or the prison of the Stone-quarries, we may perhaps conclude that the excavation was first made for the purpose of getting stone, and afterwards turned into a prison. It may be remembered that the quarries at Syracuse were used for the same purpose. Near the entrance were the *Scalæ Gemoniæ*, by which the culprits were dragged to the prison, or out of it to execution. A more horrible place for the confinement of a human being can scarcely be imagined. There

^l Lib. xxix. c. 22.^m Lib. xxxiv. c. 44.ⁿ Lucret. iii. 1030. Liv. lib. xxxviii. c. 36.^o Lib. xxxii. c. 26. See also lib. xxvi. c. 27.

are two apartments, one above the other, to which there was no entrance, except by a small aperture in the upper roof; and a similar hole in the upper floor led to the cell below. There was no staircase to either. The upper prison is twenty-seven feet long, by twenty wide; the lower, which is elliptical, is twenty by ten. The height of the former is fourteen feet, of the latter seven. These served as the state prisons; and only persons of distinction had the privilege of occupying them. Jugurtha was among the number. Sallust^p describes the place thus: "In the prison, called Tullian, when you have descended a little, there is a place on the left, sunk about twenty feet: it is surrounded by walls on all sides; and above is a room vaulted with stone, but from uncleanness, darkness, and a foul smell, the appearance of it is disgusting and terrific."

Some, however, and particularly Baronius,^q have raised a doubt, whether the place now shown at the foot of the Capitol is really the prison which was constructed by Ancus Martius, and called Tullian. The strongest evidence which they adduce is a passage from Pliny,^r where he says, "that the Temple of Piety was built in that part of the prison (*in ea carceris sede*) where is now the Theatre of Marcellus." The whole force of these words lies in the assumption, that there was only one prison in Rome, and that Pliny

^p De Bello Cat. c. 55.

^q Vid. Martyrolog. ad 14 Mart. p. 103, &c.

^r Lib. vii. c. 36.

must therefore be speaking of the Tullian prison. Juvenal certainly says, in the style of a patriotic antiquary,

Felices proavorum atavos, felicia dicas
 Sæcula, qui quondam sub regibus atque Tribunis
 Viderunt ~~me~~ contentam carcere Romam.

SAT. iii. 312.

But how long one prison was found sufficient for the number of criminals does not appear; and it may well be doubted, whether in the year of Rome 604, (of which Pliny is speaking,) there were not many more persons deserving of imprisonment, out of a population of more than four hundred thousand souls,^s than what one jail would contain. It has been already stated, that the Tullian prison was only used for state criminals: but the person, whose story Pliny is telling, was an humble and obscure plebeian woman (*humilis in plebe ideoque ignota*): and from the way in which she was treated, her offence seems to have been a common one. I conclude, therefore, that he was speaking of another prison, which was afterwards destroyed. Appius Claudius the decemvir had a prison constructed on purpose for plebeian offenders; but the restriction was violated in his own person, as he was confined in it himself.^t Tradition makes the Church of S. Nicola in Carcere to stand upon the site of this prison; and as this is not far from the Theatre of

^s The census of 683 returned 450,000.

^t Liv. lib. iii. c. 57.

Marcellus, it is not improbable that this is the one of which Pliny speaks. Some ancient columns may still be seen in this church, and antiquaries make out that there were three temples within or close to it. We have another proof that Pliny was speaking of the prison of Claudius, and not of the Tullian, since Publius Victor, in describing the ninth region of the city, mentions the Theatre of Marcellus and the Prison of Claudius close together. At all events the passage in Livy is much more decisive, where he says, that the prison of Ancus was "in the middle of the city, overlooking the Forum." And if we cannot say that the building now shown is near the Theatre of Marcellus, still more difficult would it be to prove that a prison near that theatre would overlook the Forum. Another argument adduced by the opposite party is an inscription upon the front of what is shown as the Mamertine Prison: we there read, C. VIBIVS. C. F. RVFINVS. M. COCCEIV . . . cos. EX. S. C. These persons were consuls, U. C. 775, in the time of Tiberius. But surely this inscription cannot prove, that Vibius and Cocceius (Nerva) were the original contrivers of this building: the slightest inspection of it will convince us that it was much older than their time, and that the consuls mentioned only made some alteration or addition to it.

The origin of the name Mamertine is not certain: nor can I find any ancient author who uses it. In the acts of the early martyrs the prison is frequently mentioned under this title, as may be

seen in Baronius. Pancirolli deduces it from the family Mamertia, which, according to Plutarch, traced itself up to Numa. That king was said to have had four sons, from whom four illustrious families were descended, Pomponia, Pinacia, Calpurnia, and Mamercia. In process of time the name of Mamercus was changed to Mamertinus; and under the emperors we find several persons of this name high in office, such as consuls, prætors, &c. It is possible that one of these persons may have repaired the prison, and given it his name; as P. Victor and Sextus Rufus mention a Schola Mamertina and baths of the same name. The adjoining street was called Vicus Mamertinus. Had the appellation occurred in ancient authors, I should rather have derived it from the founder Ancus Martius, whose name may anciently have been written *Mamertius*, as we are told that in the Oscan language Mars was called *Mamers*.^u

Tradition says, that St. Peter was confined here; which, considering the accusation against him, is not very likely. The pillar is shown to which he was fastened, and also a well of water, which appeared miraculously for the baptism of his gaolers, Processus and Martinianus, and forty-seven companions. The prison itself, with a small chapel in front, is now consecrated to him; and over it is the Church of S. Giuseppe de' Falegnami, built in 1539.^v

^u Vid. Diad. Sic. lib. xxi. c. 13. and Festus, voce *Mamers*.

^v The Abate Cancellieri published a work upon these prisons in 1788.

Not far from these prisons, on the other side of the steps leading to the Forum, some portion of the ancient Tabularium, or Record-office, may be seen. This now serves as a foundation to the Palazzo Senatorio; and in an enumeration of the more ancient remains, such an inconsiderable fragment would seem hardly worthy of notice. I mention it only as another example of that massy style of architecture which the Romans adopted, and because every thing connected with the ancient Capitol is interesting. It is, however, of great antiquity, this part having been built U.C. 367, as foundations for the Capitol. Livy mentions it,^{*} and says, that it was a remarkable work, even in the magnificence of his day. The wall is about 170 palms in length, and fourteen in height. Some of the stones are ten or twelve palms long. In the interior there is a chamber vaulted with several arches and a Doric frieze. An inscription was found near here, but is no longer to be seen, which commemorated the founder of the whole building:

Q. LVTATIVS. Q. F. CATVLVS. COS. SVBSTRVCTIONEM
ET. TABVLARIVM. S. S. FACIENDVM
COERAVIT.

These three works, the Cloaca Maxima, the Prison, and the Tabularium, are all built of that stone which the Romans call Peperino, probably from the town of Piperno, (Privernum,) where it is found in great abundance, or from the black

^{*} Lib. vi. c. 4.

spots on it resembling *pepper*. The ancients called it Alban stone,^y because they got it from the neighbourhood of Alba; and it seems, that all their early buildings were made of it. Afterwards two other kinds of stone came to be used, Travertine and Tufo. The former has its name from the Teverone or Anio, near which it is formed. I use this expression, because the calcareous deposit from the water is constantly indurating, and forms incrustations round any object which is left in it.^z An instance of this may be seen at Tivoli, where there is the evident trace of a wheel, the wood of which is decayed, but a hard mass of stone is formed round it. The ancients called this stone Tiburtine. The outside of the Colosseum is built of it. The third kind of stone is Tufo. Vitruvius mentions it,^a and calls it *tophus*, of which he describes red, black, and white varieties. This is the softest of all stones used for building, and seems evidently to be of volcanic origin, of which all the country round Albano, and Rome itself, bears evident trace. Some showers of stones, which Livy mentions as falling near Albano, seem to allude to phænomena connected with volcanos.^b He mentions also,^c that a great gulph or chasm opened near Albano.^d Vitruvius

^y Vid. Vitruvius, lib. ii. c. 7. Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 48.

^z Vide Seneca, Nat. Quæst. lib. iii. c. 20.

^a Lib. ii. c. 7.

^b Lib. i. c. 31. Lib. xxv. c. 7. &c.

^c Lib. xl.

^d Pliny mentions a shower in Lucania of matter resembling sponges. Lib. ii. c. 57.

says, that *tophus* was used for the interior of buildings, which was not exposed to the air. We find the inside of the Colosseum composed of it.

The walls of Rome, as they now stand, can in no part claim a greater antiquity than the time of Aurelian; so that we look in vain here for any work of the Republic. There is reason, however, to believe, that a fragment of a wall in the Villa Mattei, on the Cælian hill, is part of the ancient circuit; and if so, we may find in it a monument of the age of Servius Tullius. The appearance of the masonry is certainly not hostile to such a supposition. In the gardens of Sallust, now those of the Villa Barberini, there is another portion of wall, which is also said to have belonged to the ancient circuit.

Of the Bridges, the only one, which can claim a date prior to the age of Augustus, is the Ponte Rotto. But this has been so often repaired after inundations, that we cannot easily decide how much of it is ancient. It was begun by M. Fulvius, and finished by Scipio Africanus and L. Mummius. The next to this in antiquity is the Ponte di 4 Capi, anciently Pons Fabricius, which leads into the island. This, however, was built under the reign of Augustus; though it may be doubted, whether it was not rather repaired, than reconstructed at that time. Donatus states it to have been built in 612. The Pons Sublicius was the most ancient in Rome: but if it be true, that the island was formed at the time of the expulsion of the Tarquins, it is probable, that a bridge was

built very early, to form a communication with it. Unfortunately for our classical curiosity, the Sublician bridge itself, on which Horatius Cocles stood, as the bulwark of infant Rome, has been entirely washed away.

Both within and without the walls we may see some works of great antiquity in the Aquaducts. Several fragments of these astonishing efforts of human industry stretch across the Campagna in various directions. It is difficult to ascertain the precise date of some of them: they evidently have been repaired at different times, but many parts of them bespeak the solid and massy architecture of the early ages of Rome. We have a detailed account of the state of the Aquaducts during the reign of Nerva, written by Frontinus, who was engineer under that emperor. He says that nine different waters came into Rome; but as some of these were united, the Aquaducts that entered the city were not so numerous. Sextus Rufus, who wrote in the time of Diocletian, makes the number nineteen; and Procopius, who lived in the sixth century, says that there were fourteen. A minute account of these several works would not be very interesting. To trace all of them, or indeed any of them, through the whole of their course, would perhaps be impossible. Procopius tells us, that Vitiges broke them down to deprive the city of water; and as in many of them the arches did not begin at a great distance from the walls, we may despair of ascertaining their course under ground. The work of Frontinus will supply the names of

the places where each Aquaduct began, and the length of its course. I shall content myself with enumerating a few of them, and endeavouring to point out here and there some remains of the ancient arches.

Till the year of Rome 441, the city was supplied with water from the Tiber only. In that year, Appius Claudius, the censor, brought a stream from a distance of seven miles, which was called from him Aqua Appia. It began to the left of the Via Prænestina; and Frontinus says, that its whole course, except sixty paces near the Porta Collina, was under ground. If these few arches existed, they would be considerably within the modern circuit of the walls; but I know no trace of them, and only mention the Aquaduct, because a long line of arches may be seen to the right and left of the Via Prænestina, extending, with occasional interruptions, for a length of some miles. It is said to be a remnant of the Aquaduct, which Lampridius mentions as being built by Alexander Severus.

Near the Porta S. Lorenzo we may see an Aquaduct with three water-courses in it, one above the other. These conveyed the Aquæ Martia, Tepula, and Julia, which were brought to Rome successively, in the years 608, 627, 719. We must conclude, that the union was not effected till the last period; and if the arches conveying all the three waters were only constructed then,*

* This is not a necessary consequence, because the Aqua

the work now remaining can scarcely be classed amongst those of the Republic.

The Aqua Virgo was introduced a few years after the last; and parts of the Aquaduct may be traced, crossing the three roads, which lead respectively from the gates of S. Lorenzo, Pia, and Salara. This is, probably, the one which Procopius mentions as being near the Porta Pinciana, by which Vitiges attempted to enter Rome. It commenced about eight miles off, on the Via Colatina.

The Claudian Aquaduct was truly an imperial work, and therefore ought not, perhaps, to be mentioned here. It was begun by Caligula, and finished by Claudius. Two streams were united, both of which came from near the Via Sublancensis, a road which follows the valley of the Anio above Tivoli. One came forty miles off, and was carried upon arches, immediately after quitting its source, for a distance of three miles. The other, the *Anio novus*, also began on arches, which continued for twelve miles, 800 paces. After this, both went under ground; and at a distance of six miles, 491 paces from the city, they joined, and were carried upon arches all the rest of the way. This is the most perfect of all the ancient Aquaducts; and it has been repaired, so as to convey the Acqua Felice, which is one of the

Julia ran in the highest of the three channels, and the Tepula was higher than the Martia. These three waters will be mentioned more in detail hereafter.

three streams^f that now supply Rome. Parallel to it there may be observed, for a considerable distance, the ruins of another Aquaduct, which must necessarily have been older than that of Claudius, and presents an appearance of great antiquity. It is built of large stones, whereas the later ones are of brick. The Claudian Aquaduct entered the city by the Porta Maggiore, where we may still see a great portion of it, and observe the two channels, one above the other, for the different streams. The *Anio novus* was the highest. The arches may be traced from hence to St. John Lateran, over parts of the Cælian hill, and so to Mount Aventine.

These works, so frequent in all Roman colonies, have been cited as a proof that the Romans were ignorant of that principle in hydrostatics, that water will always rise to the level of its source; and their patient industry has been ridiculed, in taking so much trouble to convey upon arches of brick or stone, what might have been brought in pipes under ground. How far, or how long, the Romans were really ignorant of this principle, I cannot pretend to say; perhaps, when they first erected arches for this purpose, they were not aware that the labour might have been

^f These three are the Acqua Vergine, restored by Nicolas V. which comes to the fountain of Trevi; L'Acqua Felice, brought by Sextus V. to the fountain of Termini, and so called from the name which he bore before his election; and L'Acqua Sabatina, which supplies the Janiculum, and was brought to the Fountain Paolina by Paul V.

AQUADUCTS.

saved; but it is difficult to deny, that many Roman Aquaducts were constructed in this manner after the principle was known. The Meta Sudans, a fragment of which still exists near the Colosseum, is said to have been a fountain; and it is evident that the water which supplied it was not raised by mere mechanical means. Pliny^b mentions (salientes) in Rome, a fountain, it appears, of modern times, and from the Latin term for a fountain, it is certain that they resembled those of Pliny, and that the water was thrown up merely by its own pressure. But another passage of Pliny is more decisive, and ought to set the question at rest as to the science of his days; he says,^c "water, which is wanted to rise to any height, should come out of lead. It rises to the height of its source." In another place he observes, "The ancients carried their streams in a lower course, either because they were not acquainted with the exact principle of keeping a level, or because they purposely sunk them under ground, that they might not easily be inter-

^a We find mention of it in Seneca's Epistles to Lucilius: "Essedas transcurrentes porro et fabrum inquilinum et ferrarium vicinum, aut hunc, qui ad Metam Sudantem tubas expeditur et tibias, neque cantat, sed exclamat." There is a coin of Titus, on the reverse of which is a figure of the Meta Sudans, which was probably repaired by him; though the Chronicle of Cassiodorus ascribes it to Domitian.

^b Lib. xxxvi. c. 24. Agrippa . . . lacus septingentos fecit, præterea salientes centum quinque, castella centum triginta.

^c Lib. xxxi. c. 31.

“ rupted by the enemy.” We may add a passage from Frontinus:^k “ There are five different levels to the streams, two of which are raised to every part of the city; but of the rest, some are forced by greater, some by less pressure.”

In the colonies, which were planted in Spain or Gaul, these works were probably constructed for political reasons. A number of people were employed by these means, and the cities were ornamented and supplied with the conveniences of life, to induce the hardy natives to reside in them. As soon as the Gauls or Spaniards enclosed themselves within walls, and adopted Roman manners, the protection of Rome was necessary to them; so that there were good reasons for constructing these enormous works, although, if the only object had been to supply the city with water, it might have been done on much cheaper terms. The needless labour bestowed upon these Aquaducts may be seen very remarkably at Lyons, where some fragments of arches still exist.^l The water was conveyed in this manner for two leagues, and yet the hill at which it terminated, and on which the ancient Lugdunum stood, contains several springs of excellent water. Even the magnificent work still existing under the name of Pont du

^k Lib. i.

^l The part which remains is about seventy yards long, and contains the ruins of nine arches. The building is narrow, but as the ground is here on a decline, part of it is raised to a great height, and if it crossed the adjoining valley, it must have been several times higher.

Gard,^m and which supplied Nismes (Nemausus) with water, might have been spared, as there is in that city a most copious spring, which is quite a natural curiosity. It is evident, therefore, that here even ignorance of the hydrostatical principle would not have urged them to such a laborious undertaking, and some other motive must have caused the work. We must recollect, too, that the expense of labour was scarcely any thing, as the conquered inhabitants might have been had in thousands.

In quoting the tombs, as remains antecedent to the Augustan age, the tomb of the Scipio family, which is the most ancient, perhaps hardly comes under our inquiry; the tomb itself being nothing but a subterraneous vault, on which no labour of architecture was bestowed. I was unwilling, however, to pass it over, as we have here specimens of the art of sculpture at Rome as far back as U. C. 456. The pyramid, in memory of C. Cestius, near the Porta S. Paolo, is somewhat prior to the time of Augustus, though not much so; and as to the tomb of Bibulus, nothing is known as to its date; but we may probably fix it a little earlier than that of Cestius. The tomb of Cæcilia Metella is also of the time of the Republic, but evi-

^m This stupendous Aquaduct, which far exceeds any thing of the kind in Italy, consists of three rows of arches, one above the other. The first tier contains six arches, the second eleven, the third thirty-five. The whole height is 182 feet: the channel, in which the water ran, is three feet high. It lies between Avignon and Nismes.

dently not long before the close of it. We may judge of this from the marble used in it; but certainly Pliny's remark, quoted at page 22, is borne out by this specimen; for the blocks have not been sawed, and the same may be said of the pyramid of C. Cestius.ⁿ

Of the temples, but a poor catalogue can be made out, as exhibiting any monuments of the Republic. It will be attempted to be shown, in another place, that the Church of St. Theodore, near the Forum, was not the temple of Romulus.

The temple of Vesta, too, though said by some to be older than the age of Augustus, has not much evidence to support its pretensions. It stands between the arch of Janus and the river. It is circular, with a portico all round it, of twenty Corinthian pillars, fluted; one of which is wanting. The cornice, also, and the ancient roof, have disappeared. In Ovid's time it was covered with a dome of brass.^o In other respects it is tolerably perfect, and forms a very interesting and elegant object. The walls within the portico are all of white marble, much of which still remains, and the pieces of it were put together, so as to have the appearance of one uninterrupted mass. The pillars are thirty-five feet high; the whole circumference of the building is 170 feet, and the diameter of the temple, within the portico, is 28. The question still remains unanswered, what is

ⁿ All these tombs will be described afterwards, in detail.

^o Fast. lib. vi. 261, 281, 296.

the date of this building? We know that Numa dedicated a temple to Vesta, and that it was round.^p Horace also mentions one; and it might be thought vain to search for Numa's building after the catastrophe which he describes. But his words do not absolutely imply that it was thrown down; it may only have been endangered:

Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis
Littore Etrusco violenter undis,
Ire dejectum monumenta Regis
Templaque Vestæ. Od. lib. i. 2, 15.

The present edifice is, however, far too elegant for the age of Numa; and Ovid expressly tells us, that the former temple was burnt about the year of Rome 512, or 256 years before the time of his writing.^q In another place, he describes the building as it was in his own days; and the

^p Festus "*rotunda ædes*." Ovid. l. c. There is a beautiful round temple at Tivoli, which is also supposed to have been dedicated to Vesta, though it has always been called the Temple of the Sibyl. That this last title is wrong, seems to be agreed by all the antiquaries of the present day. Andrea Fulvio, who wrote in the sixteenth century, calls it the temple of the Goddess Albunea, without mentioning any other opinion. Albunea was the fountain from which the river Albula flowed. It is mentioned by Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 83. Hor. *Od.* i. 7, 12. Mr. Kelsall, in his *Excursion from Rome to Arpino*, quotes an ancient inscription found near the spot, which leads him to think that it was erected in honour of Drusilla, the sister of Caligula.

^q Compare *Fast.* lib. vi. 437, 461.

same passage also gives us some idea of Numa's temple :

Quæ nunc ære vides, stipula tunc tecta videres ;
 Et paries lento vimine textus erat.
 Hic locus exiguus, qui sustinet atria Vestæ,
 Tunc erat intonsi regia magna Numæ.
 Forma tamen templi, quæ nunc manet, ante fuisse
 Dicitur, et formæ causa probanda subest.

Fast. lib. vi. 261.

It was burnt in Nero's fire,^r and repaired by Vespasian or Domitian. It was burnt again in 191, under Commodus; and Julia Pia, wife of Septimius Severus, restored it. This is probably the building still in existence; and the proportion of the columns seems to show, that it must have been erected in an age when architecture was on the decline; for though the height of Corinthian columns ought to equal nine diameters, these contain eleven. It was consecrated, as a Christian Church, to St. Stephen, and is known by the name of S. Stefano delle Carrozze, and La Madonna del Sole. An inscription says, "Sextus III Pont. Max. Ædem hanc Beati Stephani Pro-
 "tomartyris diu incultam et incognitam instau-
 "ravavit Anno Jubilæi" [1475]. The spaces between the pillars were all blocked up with brickwork till very lately, when every thing was cleared away, and the building restored to its original appearance.

^r Tacitus, An. lib. xv. c. 41.

The temple of Fortuna Virilis, near the Ponte Rotto, (now the church of Santa Maria Egiziaca,) is said by some to have been built by Servius Tullius; but this cannot claim such antiquity, as Dionysius tells us^{*} that Servius' temple was burnt, on which occasion his statue, which was of wood gilt, was the only thing saved. The present building may perhaps stand upon the same site. Ovid mentions a spring of warm water as being near the temple:

Discite nunc, quare Fortunæ thura Virili
 • Detis eo, calida qui locus humet aqua.
 Fast. lib. iv. 145.

Some have wished to call it the Basilica of C. Lucius; but Palladio is positive that it was a temple. Very erroneous accounts are given of its original plan, and of the remains still existing; but Desgodetz has published a very accurate survey and engraving of it. The front consisted of four pillars, which still remain; there were seven on each side, reckoning the angular ones, but the five last were only half pillars. Those at the other end, corresponding to the front, were also half pillars. Of the lateral ones, I could only make out six on one side; the other is blocked up by buildings. The pillars are Ionic, and the cornice is handsomely ornamented with festoons, bulls' heads, children, and candelabra. The soil has accumulated up to the base of the columns;

^{*} Antiq. lib. iv. c. 33. Ovid. Fast. lib. vi. 625. Val. Max. lib. i. c. 8.

and there were anciently several steps leading up to the front. Andrea Fulvio mentions, that there was formerly an inscription, which was become perfectly illegible in his time. This temple, and that of Vesta, appear to be represented in the plans of ancient Rome preserved in the Capitol.

The Church of SS. Cosmo and Damiano in the Forum, beside, being itself a building of the 6th century, has an ancient Temple of Remus for its vestibule. There is not much to lead us to any particular conclusion as to its date; but it is probably prior to the Augustan age, and I should think considerably so. There will be occasion to mention it more hereafter.

The Arch of Janus is considered to be older than the time of Augustus, though it could not be much so, on account of the Greek marble of which it is built; which, as already stated, was not used at Rome till towards the decline of the Republic.

What is the date of the Basilica of Paulus Æmilius, which now forms part of the Church of S. Adriano in Foro, and of the Baths of P. Æmilius near the Column of Trajan, I have not been able to discover.

Such are the buildings which claim attention in Rome, on the grounds of the greatest antiquity. The list will be considered a scanty one; and of those which have been enumerated, some are doubtful, and may have only the claim of a few years to be called the works of the Republic. The Cloaca Maxima, the Mamertine Prisons, the

ARCHITECTURE (

Aqueducts, and perhaps the
can really carry us back to
sacred times of Roman libe
wrote in the beginning of t
says, in his work on the M
that he could discern nothi
Republic, except a bridge
Fabricius.) an arch, a sepu
C. Cestius, and a double ro
office of the Capitol. But
tainly too small; and the
too melancholy a view up
past. It seems, however,
fail coming to this conclu
was at a very low ebb in
its height in Greece, and
The remains at Athens,
the Temple of Theseus,
us back to the time of Pe
the year of Rome 302.
Egesta and Girgenti re
which the Carthaginians
island, before the Rom
ports to contend with
nearer to them, in Mag

* In these days, the word
used here, because the Cloac
by two of the Kings. But th
and under the Emperors wa
of England compared with t
country in which the union
be objected to.

LECTURE OF ROME.

over whose history a veil of
through which we endeavour
times which are prior to exist-
at Rome there seems to have
genius which could strike out
works, and for many years no
which would care to imitate them.
days of Augustus, if taunted
would probably have made the
elegance of his ancestors a topic
but in comparing the Romans
Greeks, we cannot deny that the
most polished nation of the two:
ator taken from the plough, or a
of brick, does not excite in us any
ing, we may perhaps be allowed to
more with the fate of Athens than of
in the latter city, if we wish to con-
to the Republic, there is surely no
ments of brick and stone to awaken
tion of such a period. If we must
objects, on which to fix our atten-
ave the ground itself, on which the
od; we have the seven hills, we have
Martius, the Forum, all places fami-
in history, and in which we can assign
spot where some memorable action
med. Those who feel a gratification
their footsteps where Cicero or Cæsar
them, in the consciousness of standing
same hill which Manlius defended, and
associations which bring the actors

themselves upon the scene, may have all their enthusiasm satisfied, and need not complain that there are no monuments of the time of the Republic. Rome is indeed a melancholy wreck of what it once was; but the circuit of the walls being the same at this moment, as in the time of the Emperor Aurelian, we have so far a point of connection between former times and our own; and what is wanting in many ancient cities, we can positively identify the limits which it occupied. But in Rome we can do more: from the records of history we can trace the gradual increase of the city, from the time when Romulus had his cottage on the Capitol, to the final extension of the walls by Aurelian.

The traveller would do well to study this history, and observe upon the spot the successive limits which the rising city occupied. He would first place himself upon the Palatine hill, and would fancy all the subjects of Romulus settled on it. The other hills were then probably uncultivated, and overgrown with trees, while the plain at the foot of them was marshy from the inundations of the Tiber. It was on this hill that Nero built his Golden House, which covered nearly the whole of it. Caligula united it with the Capitol by a bridge across the Forum. These enormous buildings necessarily swallowed up every other, and it is therefore vain to expect any antiquity on the Palatine, prior to the time of Nero. The thatched cottage of Romulus was not on this hill,

as some have asserted, but on the Capitol,* unless we suppose that one was shown on each hill.[†] The palace of Nero has followed the fate of this cottage: nothing now remains of the splendid and extensive superstructure: but among the gardens, which occupy the ground, some fragments of masonry may here and there be seen, and some subterraneous apartments may be entered, where a few paintings are still visible.

Romulus seems to have surrounded his city with a wall, though, if the story of Remus be true, it was not a very formidable one.[‡] Perhaps it was not made of stone.[§] Livy is express in saying, that Romulus *first* surrounded the Palatine hill,^{||} but his words do not contradict what is said by other authors, that the Capitoline and the Forum were taken in during his reign. Tacitus says,[¶] that the Capitol was believed to have been added to the city by Tatius; and we may collect, that Romulus had fortifications on the Capitoline, Caelian, Esquiline, Aventine, and Quirinal hills, but

* Seneca, Controv. lib. ii. 9.

† Dion. Hal. ii.

‡ It may be left to the antiquaries to dispute, whether the form of the city was round or square. The latter is generally asserted; but the notion rests in part upon a mistaken passage in Plutarch, where he says, that Romulus founded *Roma Quadrata*, which does not mean the whole city, but a place on the Palatine hill, which served as a centre, from which the walls were drawn. Plutarch, in another place, expressly calls it round, and such seems most probably to be the truth.

§ Lib. i. c. 6.

¶ An. lib. xii. c. 24.

ANCIENT AND MODERN

they were not included with Hostilius, after destroying population of his subjects citizens, added the Cælian gave Mount Aventine, to not included within the seems to have been surrounded. He afterwards joined the city by the Sublician took in also the Viminal, and inclosed the whole site. During these periods, the wonderfully have increased, suppose, that all this group is a very great part was cultivated the modern city; and in was an annual event, and within a few miles of the that a great portion of the inhabitants should be gratified. Whoever wishes to take hills at one view, must ascend Palazzo Senatorio on the command a prospect, where any thing that the work natural features of the country is beautiful, and if nothing was

^a A. Gellius makes this a pomarium, which was instituted by the roots of the Palatine
^c Liv. lib. i. c. 30.
^d Dion. Hal. A. Gell. lib.

Rome, the ruins would still rivet his attention. The seven hills are distinctly discernible; but their boundaries are not so marked now, as they were formerly, from the accumulation of soil, which has taken place in the valleys. From this spot it will be observed, that modern Rome does not occupy exactly the same ground which it did formerly. It has in fact travelled northward, and the Campus Martius, which in the time of Augustus was an open space, forms now the principal part of the city. Of the seven hills, the Capitoline, the Cælian, the Viminal, and Quirinal, are still in part built upon: the Palatine, Esquiline, and Aventine are mostly covered with gardens, and contain but few houses.

The most populous part of modern Rome stands, as was said, in the Campus Martius, which from the time of Servius Tullius to that of Aurelian was without the walls. The whole plain may be said to have been bounded by the Tiber on the west, on the south by the Capitoline and Quirinal hills, and towards the north it probably extended as far as the Ponte Molle.* It was divided into the greater and the less, of which we find notice in Catullus,

Te campo quæсивimus minore,

Te in Circo, te in omnibus libellis.—lv. 3.

The greater was a sort of suburb to Rome, and contained several houses and buildings, of which the Mausoleum of Augustus may be considered

* Claudian. de VI. Cons. Honor. 543.

MONTE PINCIO AND

the northern limit: the other
built upon, and was devoted
Strabo, after having mentioned
Next to this, and joining
plain, with innumerable
wooded gardens, three trees
are, and very magnificent trees
each other."

Beside the seven hills, the valley
increased, inclosed the Mons
Hortulorum, which still retains
Pincio.

Collis Hortorum is
Suetonius, probably from the
deeds of Sallust: and this author
the tomb of the Domitian family
was buried, was on the summit of
Pincius was a name given to it of
the Pincian family, which was of
time of Constantine. This is a family
Tullius, it has not withstanding
the seven others. The name of
offices used to show themselves
hill, and thence descend into the
A public walk is now constructed
it commands an admirable view of
surrounding country.

Another hill may be
Piazza Colonna, which is observed
rio. There is reason to think that
hill here formerly, but that the in-
formed by the rubbish removed fr

^c Lib. v.

^s Nero, c

buildings, and perhaps more particularly from the amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus. Such is partly the opinion of L. Fauno, though he substitutes the amphitheatre of Claudius for that of Taurus. He gives it as the opinion of some persons, that the hill was formed from the soil, which was dug out, when the pillar of M^r Aurelius was erected, or still Nardini mentions an absurd tradition that the soil had been used to fill the interior of the Pantheon, when the Cupola was being built. Venuti thinks, that the name is derived from this being the place in the Campus Martius, where the people were cited to give their votes. Fauno writes, that in ancient *Historiæ*, but agrees with him in his etymology. The Monte Giordano is another eminence of the same kind, but still smaller, and has evidently been formed by the accumulation of ruins from ancient buildings.

The Monte Testaccio seems hardly worth mentioning, except as being an eminence within the walls. It is however remarkable, if the story of its origin be true, as having been entirely raised by art. It stands at the south-west corner of Rome, near the Tiber, and measures 160 feet in height, and a third of a mile in circumference.^a It is said to be entirely composed of fragments of pottery, which were deposited here. An examination of the hill itself fully confirms this notion; and it should be remembered, that the principal potteries were established in this part of the town by Tar-

^a This is from Venuti. In Spence's Anecdotes, p. 245, it is stated, that the whole rise from the Villa of the Cavalier Torradini to the cross on the top is upwards of 800 feet.

optimus Piscus, when he was building the Circus Maximus;^k This is the case at the present day, and the Church of S. Francesco is ripe on the opposite side of the river has been erected upon the same fragments. When we consider the abundance of earthenware which prevailed in Rome, that all the oil and wine was preserved in vessels of this kind, when we find them in the sepulchres and the walls of buildings, not to mention the tiles which covered the houses, the prodigious number of lamps and ornamental vessels, &c. &c. we perhaps need not be surprised that this hill was formed. So early as the reign of Numa, a college of potters was instituted; and if we believe Marlianus, there was an order of the Senate in later times, which prohibited the throwing any fragments of pottery into the river, lest it should dam up the water, and overflow the city. The author of the *Nouveau Voyage d'Italie* says, that he could only observe fragments of urns in this hill. R. Victor mentions a hill, called *Dolio-letum*, which is thought to be the same as the Monte Testaccio, but it is not mentioned by any older author.^l This was also without the walls of Si-

^k This too is on the authority of Varro, who does not tell us where he found this circumstance related. Sir-Friderick Henaker informs us, that he "laboured over some acres of "crockery" near Alexandria.

^l Jeremy Taylor, in his *Ductor Dubitantium*, (vol. xiii. p. 379, Works.) cites an anecdote, in which a hill near Rome is called *Doliolum*: but he does not give his authority. In the lease of a vineyard, A.D. 1256, published by Nerini, (De

POMÆRIUM,

lius. Gibbon informs us,¹ that there was an
 al practice of hurling from the top to the
 om of this hill some waggon loads of live hogs
 he diversion of the populace: and concludes
 er hastily, that it was constructed for this pur-
 . A very cold wind is observed to proceed
 the lower part of this hill in summer, and
 urs have accordingly been constructed in it for
 of keeping the wine cool. . . .
 'o enlarge the circuit of the walls was called
ærrium proferre. *Pomærium*, which Livy
 us^m signifies *post mærium*, *behind the walls*,
 a space within and without the walls, which
 consecrated at the first foundation, and was
 allowed to be built upon. Those only were
 nitted to extend the *pomærium*, who had
 n some land from the enemy. And yet every
 nsion of the walls was not necessarily an ex-
 ion of the *pomærium*; for Vopiscus, speaking
 urchian, says, "that he extended the walls of
 e city, and yet did not add to the *pomærium*
 en, but afterwards." Some religious cer-
 ry seems to have been necessary for the exten-
 of the *pomærium*, distinct from the mere
 oval of the stones. Thus Mount Aventine
 inclosed with a wall, and probably joined to

plo S. Alexii, p. 438,) the Monte Testaccio is called
s de Palio.

Decline and Fall, c. 71. He refers us to Statuta Urbis
 æ, p. 186, and Muratori, Scriptores Rerum Ital. tom.
 . p. 1124.

Lib. i. c. 44.

LIMITS OF

the city wall, from the time
was not included within
the of Claudius.

For 430 years the limits
same. Servius Tullius in
larger than was necessary
his day, that nobody thought
of the walls till the
remarks, that no Roman
powerful nations were
right of extending the wall
Augustus. A. Gellius also
of the enlargement of the
was U. C. 674. It is the
that part which lies toward
last, and probably altered
Portæ Collina and Viminal
A. Gellius assert also, the
further extension. Cicero
This was about U. C. 720.
from Tacitus also shows Au-
them, which was about the
sion of the conquests made in
These two last extensions
part which lies between the
Capena. Tacitus says ex-
extended the walls, and A.

^a Ann. lib. xii. c. 23.

^b De Brev. Vitæ, 14.

^c Lib. xiii. c. 14.

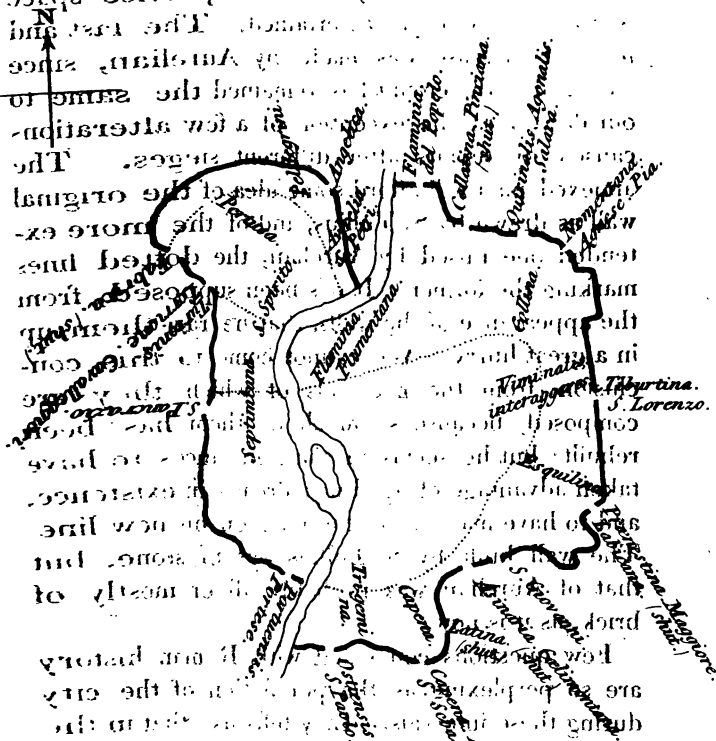
^d Epist. ad Att. lib. xiii. ep. 20,

^e Lib. xii. c. 24.

he took in Mount Aventine, which had been before walled in, but not included in the circuit of the city. Nero and Trajan made additions according to Vopiscus,^{*} but what precise space was added cannot be ascertained. The last and greatest increase was made by Aurelian, since which time the circuit has remained the same to our days, with the exception of a few alterations caused by repairs after different sieges. The annexed plan will afford some idea of the original wall as drawn by S. Tullius, and of the more extended one raised by Aurelian, the dotted lines marking the former. It has been supposed, from the appearance of the walls, that he ran them up in a great hurry. We cannot come to this conclusion from the materials of which they are composed, because so much of them has been rebuilt: but he seems in some instances to have taken advantage of buildings already in existence, and to have made them continue on his new line. The wall built by S. Tullius was of stone, but that of Aurelian was probably all or mostly of brick, as it is now.

Few questions connected with Roman history are so perplexing as the population of the city during these intervals. Livy tells us,[†] that in the time of Servius Tullius, who first instituted the census, the numbers amounted to 80,000. Eutropius says, that there were 83,000 *citizens*, reckoning those in the country.[‡] But the difficulty in

^{*} Vita Aureliani, c. 21. [†] Lib. i. c. 44. [‡] Lib. i. c. 7.



this and all the succeeding enumerations, is to know what description of persons the census comprehended. Livy himself considers this as a point not decided: he quotes Fabius Pictor, as saying, that this first census only included those who were capable of bearing arms. But a passage in Dionysius seems to show, that this was not always the meaning of the census. Speaking of that which was the fifth from the first institution, he says, that the whole number was 150,700, and that after the return was given, a separation was made of those who were of the age for military service from those who were older. If we follow the usual calculation, that those who are fit for military service form a fourth or fifth part of the whole population,^a the inhabitants of Rome in the reign of Servius Tullius would amount to between 300,000 and 400,000, a number much too great for so early a period. All the inhabitants of Rome were evidently not numbered: it must also be supposed, that slaves were not; and, if we judge from the object for which the custom was established, women and children would also have been excluded. Livy,^b stating the census in 289 at 124,214, expressly says, that widows and widowers were excepted, from which it might be argued, that all women were not excluded: and we have the evidence of Cicero, that a foreigner, though a female, might be made a citizen of Rome.^c Dio-

^a Adam Smith, b. v. c. 1.

^b Lib. iii. c. 3.

^c Pro Balbo, 24.

nysius remarks,^d that the people not reckoned in the census, such as women, children, slaves; tradesmen, mechanics, &c. were three times as numerous as those who were included. This author always uses the expression, "those who were of age,"^e which seems clearly to prove, that children were not reckoned. A passage in Pliny is perhaps important upon this question: speaking of the inhabitants of Rome in the year 365, when it was burnt by the Gauls, he says, that the census gave a return of 152,573 *freemen*. The expression quoted above from Eutropius agrees with this: and it appears from other parts of his history, that *citizens* only were enumerated.

In the fourth year of the second Punic war, Livy states the numbers to have been 270,213. In the tenth year of the same war they were 137,106. The diminution may naturally be accounted for by the long and destructive war which was then raging. In the year 549 U.C. which was four years afterwards, the return was 214,000; but then, as we learn from Livy,^f the censors went to the armies, which were in the various provinces, and beside the natural born citizens, many of the Latin allies were included in the census. It appears, that these were men, who had been made citizens, and had consequently settled in Rome: for shortly after we find the allies complaining of this migration, and accordingly 12,000 naturalized allies were sent away

^d Lib. ix.

^e τῶς ἐν ἡβῇ.

^f Lib. xxix. c. 37.

from Rome: and a decree was that the names of such persons taken in the Roman census, five cities. From the close of the year 667, they went on piling, at least with few and small additions, till the year 667, according to the *tabula*, they were 464,000, or copies 483,000. Soon after the civil wars of Marius and Sulla diminished the number of the numbers, were 450,000, as *Epitome of Livy*, lib. xcvi. civil war, U.C. 707; Plutarch was only 150,000, instead of was the number at the making a diminution of says, that Plutarch has more authors after him, as Cæsar ascertain the number of an allowance of corn for the number, not that of 150,000. The *Epitome of Plutarch*; which, if I am not mistaken, is an additional argument, are by another hand, have made such a mistake.

If we pass from Livy to Plutarch we find an increase.

^a In *Vita Cæsaris*.

^b In his *Annotatio*.

^c Lib. cxv.

tion, and which it is impossible to reconcile with the limits of Rome. Tacitus^k states, that in the reign of Claudius the inhabitants amounted to 5,984,072. In this enumeration, the suburbs, and in fact great part of the Campagna, must have been taken into the account; for it is demonstrable, that Rome within the walls could never have contained six millions. Nor will the numbers contained at former periods allow us to conceive such a prodigious increase to have taken place, even if the walls would have contained them. We must, therefore, either suppose the passage in Tacitus to be corrupt; or that he took into his calculation not only the citizens residing in Rome, but all that were called out of Italy by business, or any other cause; and that such were occasionally included in the census, is shown by Sigonius,^l out of Livy and Dionysius. Another explanation is given by some writers,^m who say, that during the Republic the census was only held within the walls of Rome, whereas Augustus extended it to the provinces; and certainly the increase, in the time of Augustus, is greater than could have been produced by the mere progress of population within the walls. We have an account of three census held by him. According to an inscription found at Ancyra,ⁿ the numbers,

^k An. lib. xi. c. 25.

^l De Jure Civ. Rom. lib. i. c. 14.

^m Vide J. Vossius de Magnit. Romæ.

ⁿ Vide Chishull Antiq. Asiat. p. 173.

in 725, were 4,063,000. In 745^o they were 4,203,000; and in 766, they were 4,137,000. It should be mentioned, that Eusebius makes the numbers, upon the last occasion, 9,300,000; and in the time of Claudius, 6,944,000, instead of 5,984,072, as given by Tacitus. But though this seems an incredible number for the inhabitants of Rome; on the other hand, it is far too small if all the provinces were taken into the account; and Suidas must evidently be wrong, when he says that Augustus, wishing to ascertain the number of citizens throughout the empire, found it to be 4,101,017,—a number far too small. His enumeration, however, is probably correct, as it agrees so nearly with the inscription at Ancyra, and there is nothing improbable in supposing that he included all Italy in his survey,^p and that all the citizens were numbered. We might at least suppose the suburbs to be included; and even in that case the numbers would hardly be extravagant; for we may safely extend them, in some directions, to a distance of forty miles.

After stating these facts with respect to the census, it may be expected that some inference would be drawn from them, as to the real method of making that enumeration; and perhaps an easy explanation may be found, which will account for

^o This was the census mentioned in Luke, ii. 1. which was begun eight, or, more properly, three years before the birth of Christ.

^p That all Italy was included in the census in the time of Cicero, appears from his first Oration against Verres, c. 18.

all the circumstances above stated. In the first place, we will collect from these data what descriptions of people were *not* included, and that may enable us to come to some understanding of who were.

Minors, slaves, and mechanics, although residing in Rome, were not reckoned.^a The citizens who were absent on military service were not always reckoned, or else Livy would not have mentioned it, as an extraordinary circumstance, that they were so in 549:^r and Cicero seems to say, expressly, that they were not.^s As to the allies, the senate and people had the power of admitting them into the census, or excluding them from it, although they possessed the freedom of the city. From these data we are authorised in collecting, that citizenship and residence in Rome were two of the qualifications for the census, as ordinarily held. If, then, the question be asked, what description of people did the census enumerate? we answer generally, Roman citizens. The above data are sufficient to show, that none but Roman citizens were included; but it is equally true, that all those, who were citizens, were not regularly enrolled. This does not really present any difficulty, but might naturally be expected, from considering the object of Servius Tullius. The census was instituted for two purposes; one was, to ascertain what portion of the

^a Dion. Hal. lib. ix.

^s Pro Archia, 5.

^r Vide lib. xxix. c. 37.

free population was capable of bearing arms; the other was, to know the property possessed by each citizen, and, consequently, how much he could contribute to support the state. The census was not intended, according as we now use the term, to ascertain the numbers of the whole population; and the Latin term is accordingly used to signify the revenue, or yearly income, of any person. We shall, therefore, be at no loss to see why, on some occasions, all the Roman citizens were not included in it; and this will lead us to an explanation of all the circumstances mentioned above. Widows and widowers were exempt from paying any thing to the public treasury; consequently there was no necessity to enumerate them; and, according to Livy, they were not enumerated in 289. But we may fairly infer, that heiresses possessing any property^u would be rated according to the value of it; and that the daughters of citizens married to strangers would likewise be rated. Hence, also, the soldiers on foreign service were not enumerated; because one object of the census, the ascertaining how many were capable of bearing arms, was already obtained, as far as

^t Servius Tullius laid a tax of 2000 pounds of brass upon the widows, to maintain the horses of the knights. (Liv. lib. i. c. 43.) But this very fact proves them to have been exempt from other taxes.

^u There was a law passed, *Lex Voconia*, in 384 U.C. by which no female was able to inherit property. (Cic. in Ver. i. 42.) But the law was eluded, and became obsolete. (A. Gell. lib. xx. c. 1.)

they were concerned; and since they did not pay any thing to the state while on duty, there was no reason to take their names at all. But in U. C. 549, when the senate was anxious to make the return as large as possible, we find that the censors sent to the different provinces, where the armies were, and took a census of the soldiers. The reason of this measure is very evident. At this time, which was during the second Punic war, great numbers of the allies had been admitted into the army; but these were not all citizens, and, consequently, not all to be depended upon; and as the object of the senate was to ascertain what was the military strength in the citizens who could be compelled to serve, they naturally extended their investigation beyond the limits of Rome. We may conclude, therefore, that a diminution or increase in the numbers of the census does not necessarily prove, as is generally supposed, that the whole population was increased or diminished since the former return; but the censors were more or less strict in their office, according to the exigence of the times. Cicero mentions one year, U. C. 664, in which none of the lower orders of people were noticed at all by the censors.

To be a citizen of Rome, that is, to have a vote in the Comitia, three things were necessary; that the person should be domiciled, that he should belong to one of the thirty-five tribes, and that

* Pro Archia, 5.

he should be capable of filling the public offices. The *Jus Latii* and the *Jus Italiae*, which were privileges granted to the allies, were short of actual citizenship, and did not make a person a full citizen, or cause his name to be taken in the Roman census. The very act of being enrolled upon the censor's list, conferred all the rights of citizenship,¹ and might be produced as evidence of the person having been considered a citizen at the time of the census;² and slaves, with the consent of their masters, sometimes entered their names, and thus became free citizens. But no persons could vote in the *Comitia*, nor could they be taxed for the relief of the state, unless they resided in Rome; so that it was optional with the censors to take the provinces into their survey, or not. After the extraordinary census in 549, we have seen that 12,000 of the allies were ordered to quit Rome, although their names had been admitted with the rest; for the cities to which they belonged complained of their absence, and the only way by which the Romans could exclude them from the census, was by making them cease to reside in Rome. Another decree followed, that their names should in future be taken in their respective cities; and these numbers were sometimes transmitted to the Roman

¹ Vide Cicero pro Cæcina, 34. pro Balbo, 2.

² Ib. pro Archia, 5.

censors, though not taken into the general account.^a

As the citizens of Rome came to be dispersed in various provinces, the numbers returned by the census naturally fluctuated, because there was no fixed rule as to what constituted residence. In U.C. 658, the *Lex Licinia Mucia* was passed, which ordered all the inhabitants of Italy, who were Roman citizens, to be enrolled in their respective cities;^b but no mention is made of the provinces out of Italy. In 662, by the *Lex Julia*, all the inhabitants of Italy were made to belong to some tribe, and became full citizens. This will account for the vast increase which we find in the reign of Augustus, compared with former returns. A census was held in the different towns, and transmitted to Rome: some authors have added these to the Roman census, and some have not, which may account for the different enumerations of the same return; and we are therefore authorised in concluding, from the whole, that, at first, the census only included the citizens resident in Rome, but was extended, if required, to citizens in foreign service. In later times, all the free inhabitants of Italy were numbered in their respective cities, and the census was transmitted to Rome.

^a Vide *Liv. lib. xxix. c. 37*. In Cicero's time, the Prætor of the province took the census in Sicily (in *Ver. Act. 2. lib. ii. c. 26*); or rather, the Provincial Censors (*Ib. c. 53*).

^b Vide Cicero pro Balbo, 21, 24.

It would be interesting to trace the population of the city from ancient times to the present; but I am not aware of any authorities being in existence which would enable us to do it. We can form some estimate as to the numbers in the time of Theodosius, as P. Victor states the houses to have been altogether 48,882.^c From this statement, Gibbon^d estimates the population at 1,200,000. Brotier^e says, 1,128,162. In the fourteenth century it was 33,000; under Leo X. 86,000;^f and in the middle of the seventeenth century, I find it reckoned at 90,000.^g In 1709, the inhabitants were 188,568, without reckoning the Jews.^h In 1740, they had increased to 146,089. In 1765, Gibbon states them at 161,869.ⁱ In 1801, they were estimated at 146,000, without including the Jews. In 1826, the official statement made them 139,847.

The circumference of Rome is another question, which contains some difficulties; but they are difficulties, which must arise either from corruptions in the text of the ancient authors, or from gross inaccuracies in the writers themselves. What is the real measurement of the walls we

^a In the year 1769, the number of houses was said to be 35,894; of which 28,000 belonged to the Church.

^b Decline and Fall, c. 31.

^c Lancisi, de Romani cœli qualitibus. Jovius, Vita Leonis X. lib. iv. p. 83; but in his own time, i.e. after the pillage by the Spanish army, they were reduced to 32,000.

^d Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy.

^e Labat. Voyage, tom. iii. p. 217.

may know for certain, because they still exist: we know, also, that any writers who have noticed the size of Rome since the time of Aurelian, ought to give the same dimensions, which we find now to be true; and those who spoke of them before that period, ought to make them much less. But this is not the case. Dionysius,^b speaking of the city in the year 291 from its foundation, says, that in that time the walls were not more extensive than those of Athens. The circuit of the latter is estimated at a day's journey by Arisides, in his Panathenæica. Strabo allows 250 or 300 stadia for a day's journey; Procopius only 240; Dicaearchus and others lessen it still farther, to 200 stadia, about twenty-five miles. Dio Chrysostom, also, makes the circuit of Athens 200 stadia. Nibby quotes Thucydides as saying, that the city of Athens, properly so called, was only 60 stadia (seven or eight miles) in circumference; which would certainly come much nearer to the truth. But Thucydides does not say so: his Scholiast asserts it, and apparently from misunderstanding his author's words. So that we have no sufficient authority for reducing the circuit of Athens to so small a measure; but we may remark, that when Dio estimates it at 200 stadia, he takes in the walls, which enclosed the Piræus, and perhaps the other writers did the same. Pliny states the circumference of Rome at thirteen

^a Lib. viii.

^a Orat. de Tyrannide.

^b Lib. ii. c. 13.

^b τὸ ἄστυ.

Roman miles and 200 paces; nearly 200 years before this seems an exaggerated statement in his concise way, "Pliny's" "teen must be reduced to easier to alter a text, than off buildings." Certainly VIII corrupted into XIII. There is a fault attending these accounts, extended that there was a length of five or thirteen miles, the whole city was much greater, the Tiber there were no walls wrote under Constantine Chelidonian increased the walls of the circuit measured nearly fifty which is utterly irreconcilable with present dimensions. Olympiodorus' wall was measured by Ammianus at the time of the first invasion was twenty-one miles in circumference, who was present at the siege gives a description, which agrees with the present appearance. In these statements, if they have not been altered by trans-

Some copies have it thirty miles as if he said twenty miles. Pliny. The passage is in lib. iii. "ambitu Imperatoribus Censuram conditæ DCCCXXVI pass. XIII. p. 197.

tended, in giving the dimensions of the city; to take the mere circuit of the walls, but to include some of the suburbs also; and it is evident that ancient Rome, like modern London, extended a great way into the country, or Aurelian would not have thought it necessary to enlarge the walls. Some writers, among whom is Isaac Vossius, suppose that the walls were much more extensive in the time of the Republic, than afterwards; they accordingly carry them a great way out into the country, beyond the Anio, and nearly as far as Gabbî, Tusculum, and Ostia, making a circuit of seventy miles and upwards. Their opinion, however, will probably not convince many.

We may form some idea of the extent of the suburbs, when it is stated, that from Otricoli (Otricoli) to Rome, a distance of nearly forty miles, the road was covered with buildings; and the same is said of the road from Rome to Ostia. Dionysius says,° “Whoever wishes to ascertain the size of Rome, will be led into error; and have no certain mark to decide how far the city reaches, or where it begins not to be city; the country is so connected with the town, and gives those who see it an idea of a city infinitely extended. But if one wished to measure it by the wall, which is scarcely to be traced on account of the structures surrounding it on all sides, but which in many places preserves traces of the ancient building, the circuit is not much

° Lib. iv.

OF RO
"greater than that of Athens was true in the time of Augustus, been much more so in the time of Pliny also says,^p "the houses themselves have added many probably, that with little or no increase were houses connecting Rome with Ostia, Aricia, &c. &c. Florus (Tivoli) a suburb of Rome,^q probably by this circumstance, was without walls. He lived in the time of Hadrian.^r Present accounts infer to be sixteen Roman miles, if a house walked round them in three minutes and a quarter, or three hours and ten minutes,^s I am inclined to conclude, that it was not more than three or four English miles. Marlianus, one of the Roman antiquaries, says scarcely more than Fabricius, who wrote in 1550, says scarcely more than Panvinus, writing in 1558, scarcely more than In this statement, the city on each side of the Tiber is included. Poggio makes the circumference of the city and reckons 379 turrets. If a

^p Lib. iii. c. 5.

^r In the first edition of this work, I have added the aspirate, because every author which I have seen relating to this Empire has done so.

^s In order to complete this work, I have added the time which it would take to go round the river in a boat: this causes considerable difference, if it is reckoned only the time which it would take to go round on foot.

drawn through the city, from the Porta S. Lorenzo on the east, to the Porta S. Pancrazio on the west, we shall find the width of the city to be about 14,500 feet.

At present there are sixteen gates, but only twelve are open; the Pinciana and Latina on the east, and the Fabrica and Castello on the west of the Tiber, being shut up. In the wall of Romulus, Pliny says, that there were three gates, or according to some, four. Antiquaries are divided as to the position of these gates, and the names of them. For as we find notice of more than four in ancient authors, we must conclude that some of the gates had more than one name. We read of the Porta Carmentalis, or Scelerata; Pandana, or Saturnia; Romana, or Romanula; Mugionis, or Mugonia; Trigonia, and Janualis.

In the wall of Servius Tullius there were seven gates, and in the part which Aurelian added on the other side of the river there were three. To ascertain the precise number of gates before and after the time of Aurelian is difficult, if not impossible. Great confusion arises from different names being given to the same gate. The names of more than forty have been collected by some writers. Pliny says, that there were twenty-four, or according to some copies thirty-seven, in his time, i. e. in the reign of Vespasian: but these were probably not all in the outer wall, and some

of them may have
surrounded some
who wrote in the
thirty-seven gates.
time there were four
ones; which latter
of little use.

An inscription sta-
paired the whole.
Several other inscri-
popes had done; and
frequent, and at suc-
difficult to say how
now exists. At the
about the year 400,
repair, having before
Claudian poetically ca-
whole passage, is inter-

Aslephant. pulchrum
Auditor perfecta, re-
Profecitque opifex.
Quam pax intulera-
Erexit subitas turre
Septem continuo m-

An inscription may be
Gruter, from which we
mentions the restoration
gates, and towers, and the
tity of ruins under the d.

learn from Cassiodorus,* that Theodoric allowed the inhabitants to make use of the stones of an amphitheatre, to repair the walls, which had suffered by the invasion of the Visigoths, and partly by age.† But Rome suffered most from the invasions of Vitiges and Totila. Procopius‡ tells us, that when Belisarius entered Rome upon the departure of Vitiges, he found that the walls had in many places fallen down. He repaired them, and erected towers higher than the former ones. Procopius also mentions ditches round the walls. This was in the year 537. Speaking of the third Gothic war, he tells us, that Totila at first determined to level Rome with the ground, to set fire to the finest and most magnificent buildings, and to turn the whole city into pasture. Fortunately he did not execute his purpose; and during the residence of his army in Rome, about a third part of the wall was thrown down in different places. Shortly after, he adds, “Belisarius marched to Rome, the walls of which had been thrown down by the Goths. As he could not possibly build up in a short time that part of the walls which Totila had thrown down, he piled the stones up which were lying near, and put them together without any order; nor had he mortar or any other kind of cement to mix with them; but his only object was to give it on the outside

* Var. Epist. lib. i. 25.

† This was probably the remainder of the amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, which had been burnt in the reign of Nero.

‡ Lib. iii.

CASTRUM

"the appearance of
 "to support this mas
 "number of poles in
 "he attended to the
 "dug them deeper.
 "activity of the whole
 "that Totila had destr
 "days." This hasty
 resist another siege, w
 menced by Totila. A
 "Narses put an end to
 "sequently arranged
 "himself supplying me
 "which Belisarius had
 these passages at leng
 count in some measure
 of the present walls. V
 that some of the origina

Between the Porta I
 will be found a quadra
 is even older than the t
 built by Tiberius for th
 called the *Castrum Pro*
 of the walls, but near t
 Pliny,^a Herodian,^b and
 this to be the work of
 that every part of it is a
 know that it continued
 barracks for the soldiers

^a Lib. iii. c. 5.

^b *Vite Maximi et Balbini.*

time, who, according to Zosimus,^d dismissed the Prætorian guards, and pulled down their camp, when he took Rome upon the defeat and death of Maxentius. This projection was formerly supposed to have been the Vivarium, which Procopius tells us was near this place, and which seems to have formed part of the city walls. But the antiquaries are now agreed, that the space in question belonged to the Prætorian camp. Suetonius places it near to the Via Nomentana,^e and the Scholiast of Juvenal says, that it was near the *Agger* of Servius Tullius, and behind the Baths of Diocletian.^f The greatest part is well built of brick; but some has been rebuilt in a very rough manner, apparently of the old materials, and some large stones. This latter part may have been the work of Belisarius, and some oddly-shaped towers are ascribed to him: but we can hardly suppose that the Goths threw down the whole of it, because the repair would then naturally have been carried on in a straight line, and the quadrangular form no longer preserved. Consequently much of the brick work is likely to be as old as the time of Tiberius. Nibby thinks that the upper half of the walls may be perceived to have been a subsequent addition. An ancient well is still preserved within the precincts of the camp.

Between the Porta del Popolo and Pinciana there is likewise a part which is very old. It is that which is under the Pincian hill, and seems

^d Hist. lib. ii.

^e Nero, c. 48.

^f Sat. x. 95.

to have been intended to keep up the bank. It is built in arches with deep recesses, and sometimes there are two rows of arches, one above the other. It is mostly of the *opus reticulatum*, which is a term used by Vitruvius* to express a particular kind of building, composed of small stones, not set horizontally, but upon one of their angles, so as to have the appearance of net work. There is an idea now at Rome, that this is always a sign of great antiquity: but Vitruvius, by calling it very fashionable in his day, seems to indicate, that it had not been long introduced: and what is stronger, he expressly opposes it to the ancient method. We have no certain specimen of it later than the age of the Antonines. Vitruvius considers it as a perishable mode of building, and says, that several walls, where it was used, had tumbled down. But we have many instances where it still exists, and apparently in great strength: and this very portion of the Roman walls might be cited as one, unless indeed we attribute the inclination of the *Murò Torto* to this cause. That which bears this name is a great mass of wall, about fifty palms in length, considerably out of the perpendicular, and is supposed to have been so in the time of Aurelian. Procopius, who wrote in the sixth century, gives an exact description of it.^h "Near the "Pincian gate there is a part of the wall which is

* Lib. ii. c. 8. Pliny also mentions it, lib. xxxvi. c. 22.

^h Lib. iii.

“rent, the stones having been separated for a long time: and this rent does not only begin from the middle, but goes from the bottom to the top, and makes the wall incline so much, yet without falling, that it seems both to lean out and to be recessed back, owing to the rent and breach in it. Belisarius wished at this time to pull down the part which inclined, and rebuild it; but the Romans hindered him, saying that they knew for certain that St. Peter had promised to guard that place. This turned out as they had declared, for neither on that day, when the Goths attacked nearly the whole circuit of the walls, nor during the whole time of the siege, did the enemy ever come to this spot, nor was there any alarm there. I am certainly very much surprised, that during so long a siege neither the enemy nor the Romans regarded this place; and the affair having since been deemed a miracle, no one has ventured to repair this breach or build it anew: but this rent may be seen to the present day.”

Another portion, which is undoubtedly as old as the time of Aurelian, if not older, is to be seen near the Porta Maggiore. It served for an aquaduct, with open arches at the top; and from the abrupt angles which the wall makes, where the aquaduct begins and terminates, it would rather seem that Aurelian took advantage of a building already existing, than that it was applied to the purpose of conveying water after it was built. This would give it a date considerably older than

the time of Aurelian, and probably assign it to the reign of Claudius, who formed this aquaduct. Nardini thinks that the Vivarium, or place where the wild beasts were kept, was joined on to the wall which is to the east of the Porta Maggiore.

The Amphitheatrum Castrense, between the Porta Maggiore and S. Giovanni, is another undoubted relict of the ancient walls: and like the Castrum Prætorium, it probably existed before, and was taken into the line. The date of this cannot be accurately known. It is all of brick, even the Corinthian pillars, and seems to have been but a rude structure, sufficient for the amusement of the soldiers, for whom it was built.

Between this and the Porta S. Giovanni the wall again serves for an aquaduct, and the foundations are the natural rock. Many other portions of the wall may probably be as old as Aurelian, but those which I have mentioned unquestionably are so, if not older; and it would seem from what has been said of them, that the emperor was in a considerable hurry when he enlarged the circuit, and took advantage of any thing which was already standing and could serve his purpose. Or we may perhaps suppose, that it was in the time of Belisarius that these buildings were taken in, and the walls assumed their present motly appearance.

On the other side of the river there does not seem to have been much inclosure before the

time of Aurelian, though the hill of the Janiculum must always have been in some measure fortified. We learn indeed from Procopius, that a wall had been raised round "the little hill of the Janiculum" to protect the mills which were constructed in that quarter: and he adds, that after the bridge was built, which connected this hill with the city, several houses were erected there, so that the Tiber might thenceforward be said to pass through the middle of Rome. This bridge must have been the Ponte Sisto, which was called the Pons Janiculensis. We must remember, however, that the Vatican was not included in that part of the Janiculum which was fortified so early. The Janiculum itself extended much farther; and the name seems to have been applied to all that rising ground which reaches as far as the Ponte Molle. Livy tells us, that Ancus Martius first joined the Janiculum to the city, not because he wanted room for his subjects, but that an invading enemy might not be able to annoy the city from so commanding a position. The Pons Sublicius was also built in his time. Aurelian inclosed the portion which is now at the south-west angle of the city. The southern extremity of this wall met the river opposite to the wall on the other side, but a little higher up. The northern end of it was nearly opposite to the northern end of the wall of S.

¹ Lib. i. c. 33.

Tullius. In this there were the
 Porta Portuensis, close to the riv
 Porta Navalis; the Porta Pancra
 into the country; and Porta Septir
 the river. This is thought to hav
 the Emperor Septimius Severus,
 in Aelius Spartianus, who says,
 built Jani in the Janiculum, at
 after his name. Some think it
 called Fontinalis, mentioned by
 Pompeius.

Till the time of Leo. IV th
 inclosed with a wall. Before
 stantine there were probably
 neighbourhood. Tacitus¹ and
 of the air being extremely u
 it, being fuller of tombs than
 Constantine built the Basilic
 town arose; and the space
 Hadrian and the Basilica wa
 numerous strangers who fl
 to visit this holy place.
 of Pascal I. who reigned
 that during his pontificate,
 of some English, (Angl
 bited by them, which in
 Burgus, was burnt to
 even a trace of the for
 found. The fire ext
 the whole of the Portico

lica, was consumed.^m In another place Anastatius calls this suburb *Saxonum Vicus*; and the name, which he says was given to it by these foreigners, is still preserved in the term Borgo. During this time the Basilica of St. Peter was out of the city; and the church itself, as well as the neighbouring houses, was exposed to the frequent depredations of the Saracens. Leo IV. in the year 849 began to inclose the whole space with a wall: in which work he was assisted with money by the Emperor Lothaire, grandson of Charlemagne; and in four years it was finished. From hence this suburb acquired the name of the Leonine City. The wall which inclosed it was not connected with the more southern wall; so that on the west side of the Tiber there were two distinct fortifications.

In Leo's wall there were six gates, Porta S. Spirito, Turionis, Fabbrica, Pertusa, Pellegrini, and S. Pietro. The latter seems to have existed more anciently, and to have been called Porta Cornelia and Aurelia: for though it has been stated, that this wall was not raised till the time of Leo IV. yet there was a fortification round the tomb of Hadrian much earlier, as we learn from Procopius, and Leo may have taken advantage of one of the gates in it. The Via Aurelia went out of it, which passed by Pisa and Genoa to Arelates (Arles). Urban VIII. in

^m The fire, which happened in this suburb in the time of St. Leo, is the subject of one of Raffael's paintings in the Vatican.

LEONINE CITY

1643 connected the two for
fact rebuilt the walls for the
two of the gates, Septimiana
came useless. They are still
ways. Urban also rebuilt the
but not quite in the same pla

Porta Portese. The ancient
were taken from the port on
was not far off. The next
anciently called Janiculensis,

Procopius' time, Pancratiana.
it to be the same with the
Procopius talks of the tomb o
just without the Porta Aure

pressly that the vicinity to
S. Petri, from its wall built by
Via Vitellia went out of this g
of the Leonine City may still
part within the wall built by

was of stone, and had large ro
are now only two open gates
Porta Cavallegeri, formerly
Angelica, formerly Pellegrini.
Leonine City has been repaired
In that part of the old or in
between St. Peter's and the Cas
there are eight gates, all open
1564. Beside these, some

Over this gate may be seen
Its present name is said to be
caused it to be opened; and who,
called Giovanni Angelo.

the name
before

placed in this quarter the *Porta Triumphalis*, which is supposed to have been near the bridge of the same name.

On the left bank of the Tiber, the first gate on the north is the *Porta del Popolo*, of which some mention has already been made, where it was stated, that this gate serves instead of the *Porta Flaminia*, built by Aurelian, which stood a little more to the east. The modern name is said to be derived either from some poplar trees, which grew round the Mausoleum of Augustus, or more probably from the great crowd of people who enter by it. In the wall of S. Tullius there was also a *Porta Flaminia*, upon the same road. This stood a good deal to the south-west, and near to the river, probably opposite to the north wall of the Janiculum, and not far from the Farnese palace. It was also called *Flumentana*,* and so Andrea Fulvio styles it, who wrote early in the sixteenth century. The present gate was erected by Pius IV. and partly with the materials of the former one. The exterior was after the designs of Michel Angelo; and some of the marble was furnished by the foundation of a pyramid found not far off. The inner front was finished by Alexander VII. upon the entrance of Christina, Queen of Sweden, in 1655. The *Via Flaminia* began from this gate, which was paved in the censorship of C. Flaminius, and L. Paulus, U.C. 533. It went by *Otriculum* (*Otricoli*), In-

* Cicero ad Att. lib. vii. ep. 3.

teramnina (Terni), Fanum Fortunæ (Fano), to Ariminum (Rimini). Here the Via Æmilia began, which was constructed U. C. 567, when M. Æmilius Lepidus was consul. It passed by Bononia (Bologna), Parma, Placentia, Mediolanum (Milan), Brixia (Brescia), Verona, Patavium (Padua), to Aquileia. This also was sometimes called the Via Flaminia. Other roads fell into it at different places, such as the Cassia, Aurelia, Annia, Claudia, Augusta, Ciminia, Amerina, Sempronia, and Postumia.

The next gate is the Porta Pinciana, now shut up. The name of Pinciana is as old as the time of Procopius. The gateway is of stone, and ancient, probably such as it was in the time of Honorius; but two round towers of brick seem much more modern.

The Porta Salaria was so called from the circumstance of the Sabines coming for salt, which gave name to the road also.^p It was called Quirinalis, Agonalis, or Agonensis, and Collina. It was repaired by Belisarius, and has two round towers. Alaric entered by it; and the destruction of all the buildings in the gardens of Sallust was probably effected then. At the distance of three miles from Rome, on the Via Salaria, is the bridge where Manlius killed the Gaul;^q but the present structure was the work of Narses.

^p Vide Plin. lib. xxxi. c. 41.

^q Liv. lib. vii. c. 6.

There was a wooden bridge here as early as in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus.^r

The Porta Pia was anciently called Nomentana, from the Sabine town of Nomentum. This also gave name to the Via Nomentana, which began originally from the Porta Viminalis; and afterwards from this gate. It joined the Via Salaria at Heretum, a town upon the Tiber. This road was also called Ficulnensis,^s from Ficulnea, another town of the Sabines, the situation of which has lately been discovered, at the distance of seven or eight miles from the Porta Pia. The gate had its present name from Pius IV. who rebuilt it in 1559, with the designs of Buonarrotti; but it was never finished. It had also the name of Agnese. It is a double gate. Before the walls were enlarged, the Porta Collina held the place of the three last gates; and it was through this that the Gauls entered Rome. They marched along the Via Salaria; and the battle of the Allia was fought near the fourteenth mile from Rome, according to Vibius, or the eleventh according to Livy and Eutropius. Annibal also came near to the Porta Collina,^t to take a view of the city, when his army was encamped within three miles of it upon the Anio.

^r Liv. lib. i. c. 37.

^s Liv. lib. iii. c. 52.

^t Val. Maximus says, that it was the Porta Capena; but the other account is more probable; and so says Claudian, de Bello Gildon. 86.

He rode with two thousand horse as far as the Temple of Hercules.^u Pliny tells us,^v that he threw a spear within the walls.

Most people will make an excursion from this gate to the Mons Sacer, of which a short description may be given in this place. The hill is immediately on the other side of the Anio, where it is crossed by the Ponte Lamentano, or della Mentana, anciently Pons Nomentanus. It took me forty minutes to walk from the gate to the bridge; which will agree very well with the distance of three miles, mentioned by Livy^x and Cicero,^y if we consider that the distance was measured from the Forum, or at least from the ancient Porta Collina. The bridge, as it now stands, was built by Narses, and repaired by Martin V. The Anio is a narrow stream, and as muddy as the Tiber. It will be remarked; also, that the current is rather slow than otherwise; which has surprised some of the Commentators, who found Horace^z apply the epithet of *rapid* (*præceps*) to the river; and who read several passages in Ovid to the same purpose. Among others, we may notice—

Hanc amnis rapidis animosus vidit ab undis.

Amor. iii. el. vi. 51.

Atque ita se in rapidas perdita misit aquas.—Ib. 80.

It is evident, however, that all these passages

^u Liv. lib. xxvi. c. 10. Plin. lib. xv. c. 20.

^v Lib. xxxiv. c. 15.

^y Brut. 14.

^x Liv. lib. iii. 52.

^z Od. i. vii. 14.

relate to the Falls of the Anio at Tivoli;^a and a true description of the current, as it passes through the Campagna, may be seen in Silius Italicus:

Sulfureis gelidus qua serpit leniter undis

Ad Genitorem Anio, labens sine murmure Tiberis.

xii. 556.

In which passage, the epithet *sulfureis* evidently alludes to the course of the river below the falls, after it has received the water of the Albula. Virgil remarks the coldness of the water.^b

The Mons Sacer is celebrated in Roman history for two secessions of the people: first, when they retired from the oppressions of the Patricians, U.C. 260; and again from the Decemviri, U.C. 305. Speaking of the first secession, Livy tells us,^c “that they retired to the Mons Sacer, “on the other side of the Anio, three miles from “the city, and fortified a camp with a rampart “and ditch.” In the second passage,^d he says, “that the people followed the army,—no person, “whose age permitted, refusing to go: their “wives and children came after them . . . not “a soul was to be seen in the Forum, except a “few old men; and the unusual solitude made “Rome look like a desert.” The road passes between two hills, both of which are very insig-

^a The reader may turn also to Ovid. Amor. iii. el. vi. 46. and to Statius, Sylv. i. iii. 20.

^b Æn. lib. vii. 682.

^c Lib. ii. c. 32.

^d Lib. iii. c. 52.

PORTA S. LORENZO.

significant as eminences; that on the right ^{would} be most secure, from its being a kind of isthmus, formed and protected by the winding of the Anio. An eager antiquary might perhaps discover some traces of the ditch mentioned by Livy, in a work which begins at the river, and is there very deep, and follows the base of the hill till it comes to the road. This hill, however, is scarcely large enough to contain the great multitude described by Livy; the eminence on the other side of the road extends much farther, and both were probably occupied.

We next come to the Porta S. Lorenzo, having first passed by six gateways, which are blocked up. One of these is perhaps the Porta Querquetulana, which Pliny,* Varro, P. Victor, and Sex. Rufus, seem to place on the Viminal hill. Sex. Pompeius calls it Querquetularia. The ancient name of the Porta S. Lorenzo was Tiburtina, from its leading to Tibur or Tivoli; and it answered to the Porta Viminalis in the wall of S. Tullius. Some suppose it to be the same with the Porta Gabina, or Gabiusa. The Via Tiburtina^f certainly began from the Porta Tiburtina; and as P. Victor says, that the Via Tiburtina and Gabina were the same, it is probable that the gate also bore both names. The ground is raised about the gate almost to the very spring

* Lib. xvi. c. 10.

^f It has been proved by excavations, that this road has been three times paved, the pavements having been discovered one above the other.

of the arch; so that we may infer it to be the original gate, or at least very ancient; the two angular towers seem to be modern. Some have given this gate the name of *Inter Aggeres*; others think it the same as what Pliny calls *Querquetulana*.

The Porta Maggiore is a very large work: it was originally a kind of triumphal arch, built as an ornament to the Claudian Aquaduct, and stood between the *Via Prænestina* and *Laticana*. Aurelian or Belisarius took it into the new line, and placed the *Porta Prænestina* on one side of it, and the *P. Laticana* on the other. The latter was afterwards stopped up, and the *P. Prænestina* has taken the name of *Porta Maggiore*. There are three ancient inscriptions on it; one stating it to be the work of Tiberius Claudius; another mentioning the repair of it by Vespasian, and another by Titus. Before the new wall was built, the *Via Prænestina* and *Laticana* passed out of the *P. Esquilina*, or *Mæcia*; the former on the left, the *Laticana* on the right. Both fell into the *Via Latina*. We might partly ascertain the position of the ancient *Porta Esquilina*, because Frontinus says,^s that the water called *Anio novus* entered the city by that gate.

We next come to the *Porta S. Giovanni*. This gate is modern, having been built by Gregory XII. on which occasion the ancient *Porta Asinaria* close to it was shut up. This was called

^s Lib. i.

Caelimontana, and juxta Lateranos. But there was a P. Caelimontana before Aurelian's time, as Livy mentions it being struck with lightning, U. C. 559.^h It has two round towers. Totila entered by it the first time.

After passing a gate, which is blocked up, and known by the name of Porta di Metrodio, we come to the Porta Latina, which is also shut up, and is probably the same with that which Plutarch calls Ferentina. Two round towers are attached to it, and a groove may be observed, as if for a port-cullis. Whether the ancients used any defence of this kind may be doubted. I am not aware of any mention of it, but there seems to have been something in this gate of a similar nature, and Sir W. Gell observed the same at one of the gates of Pompeii.ⁱ According to Muratori,^k this as well as the Barbican (or anterampart to impede the approach of engines) was borrowed from the Saracens. It was near this spot, that tradition makes St. John to have been put into the vessel of boiling oil, by order of Domitian, in the fourteenth year of his reign, A. D. 96; and a little chapel, now quite neglected, commemorates the event. It is not necessary to give an opinion as to the authenticity of this story; but there is at least respectable evidence for it, as it is mentioned by Tertullian.^l

^h Lib. xxxv. c. 9. Cicero also mentions it in Pison, 23.

ⁱ Pompeiana, p. 128.

^k Antiq. Ital. Diss. 26.

^l De Præscr. c. 36. He lived A. D. 200.

and S. Jerom.^m Neither of these writers mention the Porta Latina, which indeed did not exist in the time of St. John: and as his sufferings are always mentioned in connection with this gate, it may perhaps be thought, that the whole story is of later invention: otherwise we must suppose, that tradition preserved the precise spot where the event happened, and the gate was subsequently placed near it. Origen mentions the banishment of St. John, but says nothing of the boiling oil.ⁿ

We next come to the Porta S. Sebastiano, called formerly Capena and Appia. The base of the gateway and of the tower is formed of large blocks of marble, and is probably as old as any part of the walls. Before the time of Aurelian, one gate, the Porta Capena, answered the purpose of the two last mentioned, the Latina, and S. Sebastiano. Two roads then branched off from it: the Via Appia going to the right, the Via Latina to the left. But when the walls were enlarged, two new gates were formed, and the roads commenced respectively from them. Perhaps we shall nearly ascertain the position of the ancient Porta Capena, by placing it between

^m In Jovin. lib. i. c. 14. et Comm. in Matt. c. 20.; he lived A. D. 392.

ⁿ Com. in Matt. tom. xvi. § 6. Hippolytus also agrees with Origen, if the tract upon the twelve Apostles be his work. See Mosheim de rebus ante Const. Cent. i. § 36. and his other work there referred to. Dissert. vol. i. p. 497—546.

the churches of Nereo, and Cesareo, where at present two roads branch off. Ovid mentions, that there was a spring of water near it sacred to Mercury.^o As the Via Appia was the most celebrated of all the Roman roads, this opportunity may be taken of describing its course more at length, and the nature of these works generally.^p It was made by Appius Claudius Cæcus, who was censor, U. C. 441. In his time it went as far as Capua, but was afterwards carried on to Brundisium. It passed by Aricia (La Riccia), Terracina, Fundi (Fondi), Formiæ (Mola), Minturnæ (Garigliano), Capua, Beneventum, Brundisium. The whole length was reckoned at 350 miles. Trajan did a good deal to repair it, (whence part of it was sometimes called Via Trajana,) as did Antoninus Pius. One great cause of its being out of order arose from the Pontine marshes.^q The land occupied by them was inundated by the sea U. C. 440, according to Pliny, and he quotes Mucianus,^r as saying, that thirty-three cities formerly stood there: previous to which time we may suppose that the land was particularly fertile, as we read of Rome looking to a supply of corn from thence, and in

^o Fast. lib. v. 673.

^p A full description of the Appian way has been written by Pratilli, Naples, 1755.

^q Perhaps the word should be written Pontine. In the Greek of Dion. Hal. it is Pomentina; and Suessa Pometia, a city of the Volsci, seems to have given the name.

^r Lib. iii. c. 9.

372 it was divided among the people.³ One hundred and fifty-two years after the work of Appius, Corn. Cethegus Cos. again drained them, U. C. 593. In the time of J. Cæsar they were again marshy, and he was prevented from draining them by death.⁴ Augustus also did not succeed, though he undertook the work; so that the words of Horace were not quite true, or at least premature,

sterilise diu palus aptaque remis
Vicinas urbes alit, et grave sentit aratrum.

Ars Poet. 65.

That there was no carriage road through the marshes, we learn from Horace himself, who in his journey to Brundisium passed them in a boat:⁵ and Lucan mentions a canal,

Et qua Pontinas via dividit uda paludes.—Lib. iii.

Trajan carried the road through the marshes for a distance of nineteen miles. Theodosius and his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, also repaired the road. In spite of all these successive labours, the marshes still remain. Pius VI. has perhaps effected as much as any of his predecessors, and a noble road has been constructed, in a perfectly straight line, for upwards of twenty miles. This road still remains good: but the pope's sanguine hopes of turning the marshes into fields, and inducing people to settle there,

³ Liv. lib. vi. c. 21.

⁴ Sueton. c. 44.

⁵ Sat. lib. i. 5.

have totally failed. In order to provide his new settlers with religious comforts, he built a convent for some Capucins, and a church: but the former is now turned into a miserable inn, and the latter into a stable. The care of a public road was formerly an office of great honour. Pliny, in one of his Letters,^x says, "I was uncommonly delighted to hear that Cornutus had accepted the surveyorship of the Æmilian way: for though ambition ought to be removed from his heart, (as indeed it is,) yet it must be gratifying to him to receive so great an honour without seeking it." Criminals were employed to work upon the roads as a punishment.^y

Procopius gives an excellent description of the Appian road.^z "An active man might travel the whole length of the Appian way in five days. It goes from Rome to Capua; and is of sufficient breadth to allow two carriages to pass with ease.^a This road is more worthy of observation than any other: for Appius had stones cut from a different district, at some distance off; such as are used for mills, and are excessively hard. These, when they had been levelled and made smooth, and squared by cutting, he put down alternately, without any metal or any thing else to fasten them: and though

^x Plin. lib. v. ep. 15. ^y Ib. lib. x. ep. 41. ^z Lib. iii.

^a In some of the streets of Pompeii, the marks of the carriage-wheels remain. The space between them measures four feet three inches.

"they have been travelled for such a length of time by so many carriages and animals, yet we do not perceive that they have become dis-united, or broken, or that they have lost any thing of their polish,"^b It should be remembered, that this road had then existed nine centuries: and in some places it may be still found entire, after a lapse of more than two thousand years. The width seems to have been twelve feet, and the stones were about a foot and a half square. Soon after leaving the gate of S. Sebastian, the road branches into two; that on the right is the Via Ardeatina, the Via Appia continues to the left. Several other roads joined the Via Appia, such as Setiana, Domitiana, &c. Horace tells us,^c that another road led to Brundisium, called Via Numicia, or Minucia. The modern road to Naples is different from the Appian for a little way, leaving it to the right. It goes out at the Porta S. Giovanni, and joins the Via Appia at Bovillæ, not far from Albano. The Via Latina went to Beneventum, through Anagnina (Anagni), Ferentinum (Ferentino), Aquinum (Aquino), and Casinum (Monte Cassino). It

^b It is said by Isidorus, (Origen, lib. xv. c. 16.), that the paving of highways was an invention of the Carthaginians: and perhaps the most ancient paved roads in existence are two leading to the ancient town of Solus, in Sicily, which was inhabited by Phœnicians in very remote ages. Vide Thucyd. l. 6.

^c Epist. lib. i. 18. 20.

was paved in the time of Augustus, under the direction of Messala; and was considered a most astonishing work.^d

It was by the Porta Capena that Totila entered the second time. Close to it is another gate, blocked up; and before we come to the Porta S. Paolo, we may observe another doorway also closed.

The Porta S. Paolo was anciently called Ostiensis, and the one, which we see at present, was rebuilt by Belisarius. It is a double gate, and succeeded to the Porta Trigemina of the ancient circuit. The Porta Nævia was also between the Porta Capena and the river.

This detail will explain the names of the gates now existing, and some of the ancient ones, which are best known. But as many other names are to be found in ancient authors, I will subjoin an alphabetical list of all which I have been able to discover, and, as far as I am able, mark their situation.

Agonalis, or **Agonensis**: the Modern P. Salara.
S. Angelo: in the Leonine city.

Appia: the same as Capena.

Ardeatina: either Latina or S. Sebastiano.

Aurelia: in the Leonine city.

Capena: vide above.

Carmentalis: one of the four gates of Romulus, on the north side.^e

^d Vide Tibull. lib. i. el. vii. 59. Mart. lib. viii. ep. iii. 5.

^e Ovid. Fast. lib. ii. 201. P. Victor also says it was towards the Circus Flaminius.

- Catularia: same as P. Pia.
 Caelimontana: same as P. S. Giovanni.
 Collatina: same as Pinciana.
 Collina: vide above.
 Esquilina: same as P. Maggiore.
 Fenestralis.
 Ferentina: same as P. Latina.
 Ficulnensis: same as Viminalis.
 Flaminia: same as P. del Popolo.
 Flumentana: same as Flaminia.
 Fontinalis: same as P. Septimiana.
 Gabina, or Gabiusa: same as S. Lorenzo.
 Janiculensis: same as S. Pancrazio.
 Janualis: one of the four gates of Romulus, on the
 south side.
 Julia: in the Leonine city.
 Labicana: close to P. Maggiore.
 Lavernalis: same as Viminalis.
 Libitinensis: same as S. Lorenzo.
 Mugonia: on the Palatine hill.
 Munutia, or Minutia.
 Mutionis, or Mugiona.
 Nævia: vide above.
 Navalis: same as P. Portese.
 Nomentana: same as P. Pia.
 Ostiensis: same as P. S. Paolo.
 Palatii: in the Leonine city.
 Pandana: one of the four gates of Romulus.
 Peregrini: in the Leonine city.
 Pertusa: ditto.
 S. Petri: ditto.
 Piacularis: same as Latina.
 Portuensis: same as P. Portese.
 Posterula: same as Turionis.
 Prænestina: same as P. Maggiore.

- Querquetulana: near the P. Viminalis.
 Quirinalis: same as P. Salara.
 Ratumana: the first P. Flaminia.
 Rauduscula: same as P. Esquilina.
 Romana: } one of the four gates of Romulus.
 Romanula: }
 Saginalis, or Sanqualis.
 Salaria: vide above.
 Salutaris: same as P. Collina.
 Saturnia: same as Pandana.
 Scelerata: same as Carmentalis.
 S. Spirito: vide above.
 Stercoraria: ancient gate on the Clivus Capitolinus.^f
 Tarpeia: same as Janualis.^g
 Tibertina: same as S. Lorenzo.
 Trigemina: vide above.
 Trigonia: vide Mutionis.
 Triumphalis: near the Pons Triumphalis.
 Turionis: in the Leonine city.
 Valeria: same as P. Latina.
 Veientana.
 Viminalis: vide above.
 Vinaria: same as Portuensis.
 Viridaria: in the Leonine city.

This account of the gates, though tedious, will perhaps interest those who are fond of ancient topography. We may, however, proceed to a point, which is likely to be the first in engaging the attention of those who visit Rome. The seven hills will be among the earliest objects which they seek out. If we followed the gradual

^f Festus in v. *Stercus*.

^g Ovid. *Fast.* lib. i. 265.

progress which Rome made in arriving at its present extent; we should begin with the Palatine hill, where Evander resided when Æneas first landed, and where Romulus afterwards established his infant settlement. Of this, however, little remains to be said, beside what has been mentioned already. A belief that it was the first spot occupied by their ancestors, was sufficient to endear it to the Romans; and tradition increased this feeling by making it the place where Romulus and Remus were deposited by the Tiber. The Ficus Ruminalis, under which the wolf was found suckling them, was preserved and shown for ages after. Tacitus describes it^b as having died down and revived again in his time. Pliny also mentions it as still existing.^c It was here that fable represented the cave of Cacus to have been. It has been observed already, that few or no remains exist now on this hill, except those of the Palace of Nero; and what Virgil says of the Capitoline hill may be applied to the modern state of the Palatine, though unfortunately we must reverse the expressions:

Aurea nunc, olim sylvestribus horrida dumis.
ÆN. viii. 348.^d

Of the remains of Nero's Golden House I shall not attempt a description, as they consist only of irregular fragments of building dispersed over a very large space, and of some subterraneous

^b Annal. xiii. 58.

^c Plin. lib. xv. c. 18. *Rumen* signifies the same as *Mamma*.

chambers ornamented with paintings. They are very interesting to see, but a short time will suffice for exploring them. The most considerable remains are those which look down upon the *Circus Maximus*.

Augustus lived in a house which formerly belonged to the orator Hortensius, and which was by no means conspicuous for splendour. Suetonius tells us^k that he lived near the Roman Forum, in a house which had belonged to the orator Calvus, afterwards on the Palatine hill, but still in the moderately-sized house of Hortensius, which was remarkable neither for extent nor ornament: it had narrow porticos of Alban columns, and rooms without any marble or remarkable pavement. He occupied the same chamber in winter and summer, for more than forty years." It was burnt during the reign of Augustus, and he rebuilt it. Dionysius tells us,^l that when the palace was accidentally destroyed by fire, Augustus ordered the whole of the house, as soon as it was finished, to be opened to the public; either because the people had contributed money towards the building of it, or that being Pontifex Maximus he might live in a building which was at once public and private. Tiberius made some additions; and Caligula extended it even to the Forum, by means of a kind of bridge: the Temple of Castor and Pollux was transformed into a vestibule to the palace,^m

^k Cap. 72.^l Lib. lv.^m Sueton. c. 22.

and porticos of great extent were attached to it. Claudius restored the temple to its former office,ⁿ so that he probably destroyed the bridge above mentioned. But all these additions and all this splendour sunk into nothing, when compared with the Golden House which Nero built when the former palace was burnt down. Some idea of its splendour and extent may be formed from the account of Tacitus,^o who tells us, that beside the usual costly decorations of a palace, there were within the precincts of it fields and woods and pools of water. It reached from the Palatine to the Esquiline hill, covering all the intermediate space, where the Colosseum now stands. When it was finished, the emperor is said to have exclaimed, that now he could live like a man!^p Domitian still farther increased the size and splendour of the building.^q It was burnt a third time, in the reign of Commodus, and rebuilt by that emperor. In the time of Theodoric it was in a state of decay, and he undertook the repairing of it.^r Part of it seems to have been standing in the beginning of the eighth century.^s

CAPITOL.

To most persons the Capitoline hill will be even more interesting than the Palatine. The earliest history of Rome makes us acquainted

ⁿ Dion. Hal. lib. lx.

^o Annal. lib. xv. c. 42.

^p Suet. c. 31.

^q Suet. Domit. c. 15.

^r Cassiodor, Var. Epist. lib. vii. c. 5.

^s Anastasius, Vita Constant. Papæ.

with the latter, but the Ca through every stage of its first became part of the city tained, but it is generally taken in when Tatius was a ship in the throne with Rom its name, from the head of here in digging for the foundle which predicted univers who occupied it, are well kno the story arose it is impossil the invention of the prophecy and it is singular how early t have talked of the extended descendants were one day to ever, be objected, that several Livy puts into the mouths of purposely used by him witho feelings of those times. The of Romulus stood on this hill, till a late period, never havin a more costly form. It is me tatus, who wrote about A. D. 3 bius, who lived at the end of t

The Capitoline hill seems have been called Saturnius a name is now corrupted into C like the other hills, was n formerly, as a steep and pr

¹ Or Olus, according to Arnobius,
² Vid. Liv. lib. i. c. 55.

than it is at present. The top has been levelled, and the ground at the bottom has been raised, but still the ascent is extremely steep. The circuit of the hill may be reckoned about half a mile at the base; but it is probably less extensive now than formerly, as much of the soft rock has been cut away, and some has fallen of itself. The ascent from the side of the Campus Martius is by an inclined plain: and from the same point at the bottom commences another ascent of one hundred and twenty-four marble steps, leading to the Church of Ara Celi. The two summits of this hill are still very perceptible; they were distinguished formerly by the terms *Arx* and *Capitolium*.^{*} The former was on the southern side, and the highest of the two, facing the river, the Theatre of Marcellus, and Mount Aventine. The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus stood upon it; and it is now known by the name of Monte Caprino. That which was more peculiarly styled *Capitolium*, and faced the north, contained a more ample space than the other. The principal temple upon it was that of Jupiter Feretrius, nearly on the site of which is the Church of Ara Celi.

The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was the most splendid in Rome, having been first begun by Tarquinius Priscus, who only lived to finish

^{*} Seneca, de Constant. Sap. 6. Cic. iv. in Cat. 9. Liv. lib. iii. c. 15; lib. v. c. 39, 41. Val. Max. lib. iii. c. 2, et 7, . . . cum se in Capitolium et in Arcem conferrent, inque *his collibus* morari, &c.

the foundations, or rather to make
 for them, by levelling the summit of
 we learn from Livy, that Tarquinus
 who resumed and completed the
 large sum upon the foundations, which
 Pictor states for finishing the whole
 the estimate at forty talents, agrees;
 nay, whom Plutarch agrees, ²
 bounds weight of silver. The temple
 was, after the expulsion of the
 his name was inscribed upon
 speaking of it, says, "The temple
 a lofty foundation, with a
 eight plethra, (about eight
 nearly two hundred feet
 being scarcely a difference
 between the length and the
 looks towards the south.
 a triple row of pillars:
 double within the equal
 included that of Jupiter is
 sides: that of Juno, on the
 side that of Juno, on the
 all under the same roof." I have quoted
 words in this place, although Dionysius was
 scribing the temple as it was in his days,
 the time of Augustus; but the dimensions

¹ Lib. i. c. 55.

² Dion. Hal. lib. v,

² In Poplicola.

³ Lib. iii.

always continued the same, and there were from the first three chapels to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. The thresholds of the original building were of brass,^c but not made so till U.C. 458. The pillars, which supported the roof, were of brick white-washed: at least we might be led to suppose that they were not of stone, as Livy mentions^d that M. Æmilius Lepidus had them made smooth and plastered, (*poliendas albo locavisse.*) Montfaucon says, that there were twelve columns in front. Shields and other military trophies were affixed to these pillars, all which were removed by the same Lepidus. Asdrubal's shield, which was of silver, and weighed 138 pounds, together with a statue of him, was suspended over the doors, and remained there till the first fire.^e The roof of the interior was made of timber, and gilt after the destruction of Carthage, U.C. 612.^f At the same time the pavement in the interior was laid down in Mosaic. On the top of it was a car drawn by four horses, and the god Summanus in it, all made of baked clay.^g Summanus is supposed to be Pluto; yet Ovid seems doubtful what deity bore that title;^h

^c Liv. lib. x. c. 23.

^d Liv. xl. c. 51.

^e Liv. lib. xxv. c. 39. Plin. lib. xxxv. c. 4.

^f Plin. lib. xxxiii. c. 18.

^g Plin. lib. xxix. c. 35. Plutarch. Poplic. Cicero de Divin. lib. i.

^h Fast. lib. vi. 731. Vide Arnobius adv. Gentes, lib. v. p. 183, et lib. vi. p. 191.

and Livy¹ mentions a car of Jupiter being placed on the top in 456, but this was of bronze. There was a portico placed in front of this temple, U. C. 578,² and another in 594 by Scipio Nasica.¹

The Temple was burnt U. C. 670, in the wars of Marius and Sylla, and restored by the latter upon the same foundations, with pillars of a variegated marble from the Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens.^m The passage quoted above from Dionysius gives some description of its external appearance. The man who had imbrued his hands so deeply in his country's blood, was not permitted to consecrate the national sanctuary. Sylla died before the dedication, and that ceremony was performed by Q. Catulus, whose name was inscribed upon it:ⁿ and it has been already stated, that the following inscription once existed in the Tabularium,

Q. LVTATIVS. Q. F. CATVLVS. COS. SVBSTRVCTIONEM
ET. TABVLARIVM. S. S. FACIENDVM
COERAVIT.

He appears subsequently to have taken the additional name of Capitolinus.^o He had also the bronze tiles upon the roof gilt, which some of his contemporaries censured in him, as an act of extravagance.^p It was the Temple thus restored

¹ Lib. x. c. 23.

² Liv. lib. xli. c. 27.

¹ Velleius, lib. ii. c. 1.

^m Plin. lib. xxxv. c. 6. and lib. xxxvi. c. 6.

ⁿ Plin. lib. xix. c. 1. Cic. in Ver. Act. 2. lib. iv. c. 31.

^o Suet. Galba, c. 2.

^p Plin. lib. xxxiii. c. 18.

by Sylla, which was struck with lightning in the year of Rome 689, when the bronze wolf was injured, as Cicero mentions. We learn also,^a that part of the roof was thrown down together with the statue of Jupiter: the latter was replaced on a higher elevation, and turned towards the east. Lactantius^r says that the temple was often struck with lightning and burnt: but history has recorded no such event, except that which took place in 689.

It was again burnt in the time of Vitellius, A. D. 69, and rebuilt on a loftier scale, but not of greater extent, by Vespasian,^s who laboured with his own hands to make a commencement of the work.^t Again under Titus, and was restored by Domitian. The former Athenian pillars being destroyed, he brought others of Pentelic marble from Athens; but, according to Plutarch,^u by smoothing and polishing them too much, he made them too slender, and hurt their proportions. In the bas-reliefs on the pillar of Trajan a temple is represented, where that emperor is sacrificing after his first Dacian war. This ought to be the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, as rebuilt by Domitian: but we cannot depend much upon the accuracy of the delineation, and the building is extremely inelegant.^x Domitian gilded the out-

^a Arnobius, lib. vii. p. 245. Cicero de Divin. lib. i. c. 2.

^r Instit. lib. iii. c. 17. p. 233. ^s Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. c. 53.

^t Suetonius, Vesp. c. 8.

^u Poplic.

^x In the engravings which have been published of Trajan's Column by Ciacono, this is the seventy-sixth plate.

JUPITER CAPITO-
 side of the roof, as Catulus tells us
 second temple; and Plutarch tells us
 than 12,000 talents were expended
 work. Claudius mentions the cap-
 some Giants and winged figures, pro-
 tories, on the top of the temple.
 have suffered partially from fire in the
 Commodus.

We have no information at all
 authors as to what order of archi-
 adopted in any of these success-
 We might rather conjecture it
 Doric, and the pillars brought from
 by Sylla and afterwards by Domitian
 were so. The statue of Jupiter
 was of baked clay, and accord-
 readings, painted red. A work
 this was more than the Romans
 effect in those days; and an artist
 Fuscinus to produce even an
 the Capitol. Juvenal says,
 Hanc rebus Latis curam præstare solebat
 Fictilis, et nullo violatus Jupiter auro.
 Ovid also,
 Jupiter exigua vix notus stabat in Æde,
 Inque Jovis dextra fictile fulmen erat.

Plutarch says expressly, that the statu-
 FASTI, lib.

- 1 Poplic.
- 2 Paul Oros. Euseb. Chron.
- 3 De vi. Cons. F
- 4 De Iside et Osiride. Plin. lib. xxxi

piter Capitolinus was destroyed by the fire in Sylla's time. But whether this was the original one of clay, or another of more valuable materials had succeeded to it, is not certain. The latter might be thought most probable, since a golden thunderbolt, weighing fifty pounds, was placed in his hand, U. C. 535:^d but we learn from an anecdote mentioned by Seneca,^e that the earthen statue was preserved to a period later than this. That which was placed in the Temple after the fire, was removed to make way for one of larger dimensions in the Consulship of Cicero, U. C. 690.^f It is the opinion of Ryck,^g that there was a statue of ivory.^h The beard was certainly of gold, as we learn from Suetonius.ⁱ Pliny however tells us,^k that the whole statue had been made of gold, but that it did not exist in his time, having been destroyed by the fire: and it appears^l that he spoke of the fire which took place in the time of Vitellius: indeed the third fire, in the time of Titus, did not take place till after the

^d Liv. lib. xxii. c. 1.

^e Epist. xcvi. Tubero would use none but earthen vessels at his table, because he said that men ought to be contented with what was used for the gods in the Capitol. Tubero married the daughter of Æmilius Paulus, and Paulus was born U. C. 525.

^f In Cat. iii. 8,

^g He wrote a Latin Treatise, in 12mo. upon the Capitol and its ornaments.

^h Cf. Plin. lib. xii. c. 1. Arnobius, lib. vi.

ⁱ Calig. c. 52. ^k Lib. vii. c. 39. Lib. xxxiii. c. 55:

^l Lib. xxxiv. c. 17.

publication of his history.
 ten feet in height, and was
 who acquired great celebrity.
 An expression in Lactantius
 think that it was a sitting
 the first who caused the throne
 Juno, and Minerva to be
 we have this epigram in Martial

Scriptus es æterno nunc
 Et soror, et summi fidei

Ryck would read *sculptus*
 he thinks that the statue
 But *scriptus auro* can
 Martinus Polonus,^a in his
 says, that there was a
 upon a golden throne, it
 a mass was made of silver
 and gilded. If the throne
 Leo, who was pope for
 statue of St. Peter in
 Jupiter Capitolinus, the

Towards the end of
 took away the plate
 doors.^c Procopius
 dered it in 455, and
 which were of bronze
 that Pope Honorius

^a Non hunc cujus effigies
 sed, &c. Instit. lib. iii.

^b He was Archbishop

^c Zosimus, lib. v. F

from the Capitol, and roofed the Basilica of St. Peter's with them. But as Anastasius says, that he took them from the Temple of Venus and Rome, the fact must be considered uncertain. Totila appears to have burnt part of it, and Theodoric undertook to repair it. Insensibly however, as Christianity gained ground, the Pagan temples, and this among the rest, lost their votaries. Prudentius, who wrote about A. D. 400, says,

*Tarpeus ruit, paucis Tarpeia in rupe relicta,
Ad sincera virum penetralia Nazareorum,
Atque ad Apostolicos Exandria Curia fontes.*
CONTRA SYM, lib. i. 549.

The words of Jerom, who wrote about the same time, may also be quoted: "Auratum squalet Capitolium, fuligine et aranearum telis omnia Roma's templa cooperta sunt. Moveretur Urbs sedibus suis, et mundans populus ante delubra semivivata currit ad Martyrum tumulos." S. Ambrose, Augustin, and Arnobius, might be cited to the same purpose. Plinius mentions that the Capitol and the adjoining temple, (by which he probably means that of Jupiter Capitolinus,) were injured by lightning in the reign of Commodus; but there is reason to suppose that great part of the temple was standing in the ninth century.

The Intermontium, or space between the two

1. Lib. ii. contra Jovin.

2. Vita Eleutherii, i.

3. Mabillon, Vet. Anal. tom. iv. p. 506.

summits, was the spot where Romulus opened the Asylum. It is now occupied by the Piazza del Campidoglio, a large open space, the buildings of which were raised upon the designs of Michel Angelo; but the effect of them is not pleasing. These buildings form three sides of a square: in front is the Palazzo Senatorio, built upon the ruins of the ancient Tabularium, or Record-office; and in descending to the Forum a considerable part of the old foundations may be seen. The present building was erected by Boniface IX. and has its name from courts of justice being held there, at which the senator presides. It seems ridiculous to talk of the senator in the singular number: but such is the case; the name of that venerable body being now preserved only in the office of one man, who is appointed by the pope. We still find the initials S. P. Q. R. affixed over public buildings, and carried in processions; the Romans say also, that the senator represents the people. But considering the mode of his appointment, the high rank from which he is always chosen, and the necessity of his being a foreigner, we cannot conclude that the democratical part of the Roman government is very powerful. He has controul over the city-guard; and throughout the whole office we find an evident resemblance to that of *Podestà*, which prevailed in nearly all the Italian cities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

In the buildings, which form the two other sides of this square, the Museum Capitolinum is

contained. The ascent from the plain, and the square above, are full of remains of antiquity. On the balustrade at the bottom are two Egyptian lionesses, spouting out water. They came from the Church of S. Stefano del Cacco, near the Collegio Romano: and this church is thought to have been built over a temple of Isis, which might account for these Egyptian antiquities being found there. Pliny mentions the material of which these animals are made, and calls it *Basalte*.¹ According to him the Egyptians brought it from Ethiopia, and in their language the name expressed its ferruginous colour and hardness.

On the top are two colossal statues of marble, said to be Castor and Pollux, standing by their horses. Some have wished to identify them with two similar figures mentioned by Pliny,² as the work of Hegesias, and which stood in front of the temple of Jupiter Tonans. Winkelmann rather leans to this opinion;³ and adds, that they were found under the hill of the Capitol. But the fact is undoubtedly otherwise. They were found in the Jews' quarter:⁴ and Pliny says explicitly, that the figures made by Hegesias were in bronze. Winkelmann considers one of the heads to be modern.

By the side of them are two large trophies in marble, generally called the trophies of Marius.

¹ Lib. xxxvi. c. 11.

² Lib. xxxiv. c. 19.

³ Lib. vi. c. 1. § 25.

⁴ Vide Montfaucon *Diarium Ital.* p. 267. who quotes Flaminus Vacca, 52.

TROPHIES OF MARIUS

They came from the Castello dell' Acquedotto near the S. Eusebio; and as the part near this has always been called *I Cimbri*, it has been conjectured that some memorial of Marius's victory over the Cimbri, and Teutones, existed here. It is certain that some trophies for his victory were thrown down by Sylla and restored as we learn from Suetonius: and restorations expressly mentions two trophies of Marius.^b Some have thought that there was an inscription which was in effect, before they were restored, nothing more was legible than

DOM.

IMP.
GERM
CRE

his supposition rests on
Others ascribe them to T.

Near to them are two
Cæsar and Constantine
baths upon the Quirin
inscribed upon them;)
belong to the Emper
mentions, that after

^a J. Cæs. c. 11. Plutarch

^b Lib. vi. c. 9. § 14.

^c Ib. lib. ii. c. 5. § 6.

^d vi. c. 6. § 60.

Maxentius, a statue was erected to him with a long spear in his right hand, shaped like a cross.^d At the back of that which has CONSTANTINVS AVG. on it, there is a fragment resembling the handle of a spear, which has been thought to have been part of this cross.

Lastly, there is erected in the same row the first milestone upon the Appian way. The inscription is wonderfully perfect, and the wretched distich, which is now placed under it, is worth copying:

Quæ peregrina diu steteram Mensura viarum,
Nunc Capitolini Culminis Incola Sum.

It was found in the Vigna Naro, a little on the right, out of the Porta S. Sebastiano, and marked the first mile from Rome. The antiquaries are not agreed as to the point from which this measurement commenced. We know that Augustus erected a pillar in the Forum, which was called Milliarium Aureum;^e and a passage in Plutarch^f has been interpreted to mean, that all the roads of Italy terminated at that point. But the words may signify, that the distances of these roads were marked upon the Milliarium Aureum; and some antiquaries, amongst whom is Nardini, contend that the miles were measured, not from the Forum, but from the gates. If we adopt this opinion, we must remember that all the ancient writers, prior to the time of Aurelian, must allude

^d Hist. Eccl. lib. ix. c. 9. Vita Const. lib. i. c. 40.

^e Diô. lib. liv.

^f Galba, c. 24.

STATUE OF

to the original and more
 walls. The place where
 is about one Roman m
 ancient Porta Capena.
 balustrade is a stone sir
 tation of it. The ball
 contained the ashes of
 In the middle of the
 statue of M. Aurelius;
 ginally at the Chusot
 and in 1538, Paul III
 pedestal was made by
 frieze and architrave of
 bunch of flowers is pre
 chapter of St. John La
 ment that the statue
 lately there was an o
 Cavallo, who received
 taking care of this ho
 equestrian statue ren
 though P. Victor say
 two such in the cit
 copies, eighty-four.
 statue of Constantine
 rus. Addison says, t
 of it on a medal of
 not seem quite certa
 two figures. Some
 they observed an owl
 cluded from thence,
 the statue, was an A
 & Vide Monti

his statue was originally gilt; of which some traces still remain. Hence, as Winkelmann observes,^b we may conclude, that the gold was laid on by the ancients in very thick leaves. . . . That this was the method of gilding metal, we learn from Pliny,ⁱ who explains the whole process. He tells us, however,^k that it had not been long practised, and doubts whether Rome had the merit of first introducing it. Statues in bronze were frequently gilt, as we may see in a Hercules in the Capitol, where much of the gold remains, in the horses at Venice, and in the fragments of four horses and a chariot found at Herculaneum. This, perhaps, is the reason why copper was sometimes used instead of bronze, as the latter was too valuable to cover with gilding. The Venetian horses are of copper; but the statue of M. Aurelius is of bronze. Montfaucon^l erroneously says, that it was made by the hammer; but it certainly was cast. In the Life of Cola di Rienzo,^m (that extraordinary character, who in 1347 revived the office of Tribune at Rome, but was unable to maintain it,) we read, that during the rejoicings upon that occasion, wine was made to run out of one nostril of the horse, and water out of the other.

Where this statue now stands, were formerly

^b Lib. iv. c. 7. § 41.

ⁱ Lib. xxxiii. c. 20.

^k Lib. xxxiv. c. 9.

^l Diar. Ital. p. 169.

^m Written in Italian, by Fortioccia, and in French, by Cerceau.

two colossal figures; or high; the other of J was so lofty, that it cou Latialis, near Albano, a It was made by Sp. Ca taken from the Samnit quished, U. C. 455."

On the southern sun more peculiarly styled remnant of any ancient Rock may still be dis rounded by buildings. in a garden, is in fact though, as the stones only a facing to it, it ca not the place from wh down; and a classi perhaps, even now sa submitting to a fall. T part, and the perpen feet; but as the soil h at the bottom, it ma that height. Ficoron and found it sixty fe that had been added ing to read a descript an ancient author. S cius, as recorded by "and precipitous ma

- Plin. lib. xxxiv. c. 18
- Vide Spence's Anecd
- Controv. lib. i. 3.

"rocks, which either bruise the body to death, or hurry it down still more violently. The points projecting from the sides, and the gloomy prospect of its vast height, are truly horrid. This place is chosen in particular, that the criminals may not require to be thrown down more than once." In another place he says, "It would be terrific even to those who look down it in safety." Walking under the Capitol, on this same side, I observed another part of the bare rock, which is quite perpendicular, and almost high enough to kill a person who fell from it. The quotation given above shows that the height was not so great, but that a person might possibly survive the first fall. The chapter, from which it is taken, mentions such a case. It also seems to be implied, that the bottom of the rock was not far from the Temple of Vesta.

Between the Palazzo Senatorio and the Museum, on its right, is the principal modern descent to the Forum, nearly in the direction of the ancient Clivus Asyli, which was one of the three ascents to the Capitol from the Forum, and by which the commanders passed in triumph. In 1817 the original pavement of this road was discovered, when the Arch of Septimius Severus was cleared out, under which the road passed; and it would appear from the work of Barthol. Marlianus, (who lived in the time of Sextus IV.) that the same pavement had been discerned shortly before his time. He says it was seven feet wide. The same is related by L. Fauno, who wrote in

the reign of Julius III.: and speak of the time when the wall was destroyed to make lime paved by order of the censors three ascents were, 1. That of which went by a flight of one to the western extremity of the Clivus Capitolinus, which had passed under the Arch of Tib Hospital della Consolazione; to Arch of Sept. Severus, and bet of Fortune and Jupiter Ton branches united behind the to and from thence the Clivus Capi to the Intermontium. 3. The C under the Arch of S. Severus, to the left of the present ascen to the Intermontium. These th the Forum to the Capitol, are g the opinion of Nardini. The s discussed by Wilson, in his "J cessive Tours upon the Contir the existence of these three r tures that there was one obliqu Forum, which, toward the low upon arches, to make it more gr The triumphal processions pa

¹ Liv. lib. xli. c. 27.

² Diversos Capitolii aditus invadur et qua Tarpeia rupes centum gradibus lib. iii. c. 71.)

TRIUMPHAL PROCESSIONS.

ed, by the **Clivus Asyli**. The line of their was different, according to the side of the from which the victorious army returned. battle had been fought on the north or f Rome, the general waited on the right the river, till the senate had granted him sion to celebrate his triumph. When this stained, he passed over the **Pons Trium-** and went along the **Via Recta**, now **Strada** to the **Circus Maximus**, where he received lause of the assembled people. It appears om the account of **Vespasian's Triumph**, by **Josephus**, that he sometimes passed a the **Theatres** for the same purpose. He ound round the **Palatine hill**, passed by ot where the **Arch of Constantine** now and so reached the **Forum** by the **Via**

The procession then ascended the **Capi-** ring gone under the **Arch of S. Severus**. of the buildings here mentioned were of te: but the processions seem always to ken the same course, before the several were erected. If the victory was achieved other side of Rome, the general waited on tside of the **Porta Flaminia**, or the **Porta** a: and as soon as the senate had granted ive, he commenced his triumphal proces-

s custom was observed so strictly, that **C. Pontinius**, eated the **Allobroges**, U.C. 695, but met with opposi- his demand for a Triumph, actually resided in the for five years, when at length he obtained permission red the **City** in Triumph.

sion. Having passed through the Circus Flaminius, which before the time of Aurelian was without the walls, and there received applause, he went under the Porta Triumphalis, which seems to have been only open on these solemnities. He then went by the Theatre of Marcellus, through the Velabrum, and Forum Boarium, into the Circus Maximus. From thence his course was, as in the preceding case.

MUSEUM CAPITOLINUM.

Before we quit the Capitol, some account will be expected of the antiquities contained in the Museum. It is not, however, the object of these pages to give a catalogue of the works of art. To mention them in detail would require a separate volume or volumes; and a mere enumeration of them would not satisfy.* I shall therefore select a few of the most striking objects, and occasionally add any illustration of them, which I may chance to have found.

The Museum is contained in the two buildings which stand on each side of the Palazzo Senatorio. That which is on the right hand is almost exclusively filled with antiquities. In the court is the celebrated statue of Marforio, which is thought by some to have represented the Ocean, by others the Rhine. The left hand was restored

* A work was published in 1750, by Bottari, in two volumes folio, called *Museum Capitolinum*, in which are engravings of most of the busts and statues. There is also the *Museo Capitolino*, by P. Giorgi.

by Michel Angelo. It probably derives its present name from the Forum of Mars, near which it was found. Marforio owes his celebrity to having been fixed upon as the answerer of all those satirical sayings which were affixed upon Pasquino. This latter figure stands at the corner of the Via di S. Pantaleo, towards the Piazza Navona. It was found in the sixteenth century, and placed over against the shop of one Pasquino, a tailor, where all persons used to meet who wished to abuse their neighbour. It has been thought to represent Menelaus supporting the body of Patroclus; but it is sadly mutilated. Maffei, in his *Collection of Statues*, No. 42, calls it Ajax supported by his brother. It nearly resembles that which stood formerly by the Ponte Vecchio, at Florence. Bernini seems to have considered this mutilated statue as one of the finest remains of Antiquity.^u The same pope who placed Marforio in the Capitol, wished to confine Pasquino there also: but the Marquis, to whom he belonged, prevented it. His descendant is still obliged to pay a fine, if any scandal is found affixed to it.^x Pope Adrian VI. meditated a still more severe attack upon the statue. He was so offended at its libels, that he ordered it to be burnt, and the ashes to be thrown into the

^u Bandinucci, *Vita di Bernini*, p. 72. Bernini, *V. di Caval. Bernini*, p. 13. A Dissertation was written upon the two statues of Pasquino and Marforio, by Cancellieri, Roma, 1798.

^x Vide Spence's *Anecdotes*, p. 113.

Tiber: but Ludovico Suessano, a witty companion of the Pope, had the merit of saving poor Pasquin, by telling his holiness that the ashes would turn to frogs in the bottom of the river, and croak worse and louder than before.⁷ The statue seems to have been called Pasquillo as well as Pasquino.

The first room, which claims attention here, is appropriately called Canopus, being devoted to Egyptian sculpture. Many of the figures, however are not the production of Egypt, having been purposely executed in imitation of the Egyptian style for Hadrian's Villa, at Tivoli.⁸ This may be thought bad taste in the Emperor; but modern times afford many examples of similar partiality for the grotesque: and if these specimens were correctly copied, they furnished an interesting illustration of Egyptian manners and worship. Hadrian had a temple built in his Villa at Tivoli, which he called Canopus, and ornamented with figures carved in the Egyptian style. In some the ancient models were strictly copied; in others an attempt was made to unite the Egyptian and Grecian styles together. The Antinous preserved in the Capitol is a specimen of the latter taste. Winkelmann also has a remark upon this statue,⁹

⁷ Jovius in vita Adriani.

⁸ We may find some account of the construction of this Villa in Spartian. It contained within its precincts several temples, two theatres, copies of the most magnificent buildings in Greece, &c. &c. and the ruins of it embrace a circuit of nearly ten Italian miles.

⁹ Lib. ii. c. 2. § 2.

which illustrates a curious fact in the history of Egyptian sculpture. Diodorus Siculus tells us,^b that after the stone was hewn into the proper proportions, it was cut into two, and each part was given to a different sculptor to finish. Winkelmann adds, that the Antinous of the Capitol, though only an imitation, bears marks of having been thus divided and rejoined.

Sculpture never attained any excellence in Egypt. Plato remarks,^c that the statues executed there in his time did not differ in form or in any other respect from those which had been made 10,000 years before. This seems to be the true character of the Egyptian sculptors. They made no progressive improvement from their first rude attempts. The deficiency was in design: and the human form in particular seems never to have been sufficiently studied, with a view to representing it in sculpture.^d This may perhaps lead us to infer, that the great excellence of the art in Greece was partly owing to the deification of their heroes. If a god was to be executed in marble, he was to bear the human form: he was in every respect to be a man. But in Egypt, where beasts and monsters were selected as divinities, there was

^b Lib. i. ad fin.

^c De Leg. ii. p. 522.

^d It is remarked by Ficoroni, that the two best Egyptian statues in Rome were the Hercules with a lion's skin over his head, in the Capitol; and the richer Zingara at the Villa Borghese [now in the Louvre]. He adds, that they might be known to be Egyptian by that fulness about their mouths. Vide Spence's Anecdotes, p. 85.

not the same chance of the human form being well modelled: the imagination there was not elevated and refined by contemplating the creation of a god; and even the same wish of perpetuating the likeness of a mortal did not exist, when the bodies themselves were preserved for centuries in the form of mummies. The great excellence of the Italian painters at the time of the revival of the arts may in the same manner be attributed to the great demand for religious subjects. The Virgin Mary may at least be called the patron of painters; and Roman Catholics might say, that she had revenged herself upon the Protestants by not assisting them in this art. We may add to these causes the fact, which seems undoubtedly true, that the Egyptians were not so finely formed as the Greeks; and that artists were held in no estimation amongst them; as to the notion, that anatomy, a knowledge of which is so essential to a sculptor, was strictly prohibited in Egypt; it is perhaps maintained on rather uncertain grounds; since Pliny expressly mentions, that the Kings of Egypt ordered dead bodies to be dissected, for the better understanding of diseases.*

One of their deities is, however, represented under the form of a man. This is Serapis, of whom there is a statue in this Museum. Some obscurity hangs over the history of this deity.

* Lib. xix. c. 26. Manetho, as quoted by Africanus, mentions some books upon Anatomy which were written by Athothis, one of the early Kings of Egypt; who was a physician. Reliq. Sacr. vol. ii. p. 133.

he is said to answer to the Jupiter, Dis, and Pluto, of Greek and Roman worship; but it is not certain at what time he found a place in the Egyptian Calendar. Augustin tells us,^f that Apis, king of Argos, came to Egypt, and upon his death became Serapis. Eusebius says, that Apis was their third king; and the invention of the plough, and of vineyards, is attributed to him,^g an ornament will be observed on his head, the meaning of which is differently interpreted. It is called in Latin, *Modius* or *Calathus*. Isidorus^h describes it as a light utensil, made of reeds or rushes, in which the daily work was put, and flowers were gathered. It also denotes fertility and abundance: and those who consider Serapis to have been a deification of Joseph, understand his ornament to be emblematical of the corn which he persuaded Pharaoh to lay up against the seven years of famine.ⁱ It may be observed, that Æsculapius is also drawn with the *Modius* of fecundity on his head; and by some he is considered to be the same with Osiris.

Isis is represented with a plume of feathers on her head;^k and another figure of the same deity has cavities for eyes of some other material.

Some figures will be found in this room, holding a *sistrum* in their hands. This, which was an instrument of music, or rather of noise, derived

^f Civ. Dei, lib. xviii. c. 5.

^g Vide Tibul. lib. i. c. 7.

^h Orig. lib. xix. c. 29.

ⁱ Tertullian. ad Nat. ii. 8.

^k Vide Bottari, tom. iii. pl. 76.

its name from a Greek word signifying *to shake*. Apuleius¹ describes it as a brazen rattle, which was carved so as to resemble the form of a noose, through which a few rods were passed, and when it was shaken in the hand three times it gave a shrill sound. This description will be found to answer to the instrument sculptured in this room. The rods are three or four in number. We must remember, however, a remark made by Winkelmann,^m that the Sistrum is not found in the hand of any ancient Egyptian statue in Rome. It is in each case a modern addition; and the same author observes, that he knows of no representation of it on any ancient monument, except it be on the Istac Table, at Turin. There is also a coin of Trajan which represents it:ⁿ and Montfaucon gives an engraving of a monument, at Metz, on which it is represented. He adds, that it is frequently carved on sepulchral stones.

Of the animals represented in this room, there are Sphinxes, both male and female.

In the next apartment, which is called Stanza Lapidaria, the exact measure of a Roman foot may be observed on three of the tombs. It is more than eleven inches English, but not equal to twelve.

On the walls of the staircase leading to the upper rooms, some very curious fragments of the

¹ Metam. lib. ii.

^m Lib. ii. c. 1. § 22.

ⁿ A treatise has been written upon the Sistrum, by Baccchini.

plan of ancient Rome may be seen. They are in twenty-six compartments, and have been edited with engravings, and a Commentary, by Bellori,* who supposes them to have been made in the reign of Septimius Severus, and to have served as a floor to some temple. They were found behind the Church of SS. Cosmo and Damiano, anciently a Temple of Romulus and Remus, and were first placed in the Farnese Palace.^p Unfortunately, they have been so broken, and the fragments are so small, that little or no information has been gained from them. Nibby has made an ingenious use of some of them, in his late work upon the Roman Forum. Many places had the names written over them, but these have likewise been much defaced, and do not help us. Part of the Theatre of Marcellus, and of the Portico of Octavia, may be identified, and will be mentioned hereafter.

Up stairs, the Stanza del Vaso contains many curiosities, particularly a brazen vase, given by Mithridates, King of Pontus, to the College of Gymnasiarchs. There is an inscription on it to

* Twenty of them were illustrated by Bellori, the other six by Amaduzzi. This Commentary is also published in the Collection of Grævius. What would an antiquary give to recover one of those "faire silver tables," on which Charlemagne had engravings of Constantinople, Rome, and the World? The one which contained the plan of Rome was given by him to the Church of Ravenna. Platina, Vita Leonis III.

Flam. Vacca, i.

that effect. A figure of Diana Th
attention. She appears under th
racters of Luna, Diana, and Hecate,
not an uncommon way of representin
she is generally made to carry a torch
of weapon, as Luna; the weapon all
in heaven, as Luna; as Hecate,
character by a serpent; and at her f
notes her power in hell, as Hecate,
attended the punishment of the inf
to denote the punishment of the inf
The Ephesian Diana worships
be found she was considered the Nur
because there was, however, consi
in the adoration paid to her, and
tributes of Ceres, Isis, and Cybele;
way united in her. Hence she
the turreted Crown of Cybele;
seems to identify her with Isis;
"Isis is worshipped in every religi
"the earth, or universal nature
"fluency of the goddess is cov
"because of the universe also, is
"or nature." Such, This fi
given by S. Jerom.
mon, but occasional varieties

vide Ovid. Fast. lib. i. 141, 38.
m. lib. i. c. 20.
in Epist. ad Eph. Prae

side the Crown of Cybele, she generally wears the veil of Isis; a Crab represents the Moon (which is one of Diana's characters); the Victories and Breasts denote the Ephesian Diana; Stags and Bees, the Sicilian Diana; the Lions of Magna Mater also accompany her, the Oxen and Dragons of Eleusinian Ceres; the Sphinx of Minerva, and the Asor's Land Fruits of the Earth.*

A Bas-relief, in white plaster, representing scenes out of the *Iliad*, with explanations in Greek, may be considered curious. Fabretti has published an engraving of it, with a Dissertation at the end of his work upon Trajan's Column. He thinks, that it was made subsequent to the time of Virgil, and probably in the reign of Nero. There is here an ancient Mosaic, in the greatest preservation, representing four doves drinking, with a beautiful border round it. This Mosaic has excited considerable controversy. Pliny, in lib. xxxv. c. 25, where he is mentioning the perfection to which the art of Mosaic had been carried, describes a specimen of it, as being peculiarly excellent, which bears some resemblance to this. Many, however, do not allow it to be the same; and certainly the resemblance is not sufficient to convince. His words are these: "*Mirabilis ibi (Pergamis) columba bibens, et aquam umbra capitis infuscans. Apricantur aliae scæ*"

* A Dissertation was published upon the Ephesian Diana, by Menetreius, Romæ 1637, in which are several engravings.

"*bentes tere in canthari labro.*" "There is at Pergamos a wonder of the art, a dove drinking; the head of which casts a dark shade upon the water. Others are sunning and pluming themselves on the rim of the vessel." If this were really the one mentioned by Pliny, we might at least learn one fact, — that the moderns excel the ancients in the art of Mosaic. I shall have occasion to recur to this subject, when treating of the Mosaic pictures in St. Peter's. This was found, in 1737, in the ruins of Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, and is known by the name of *La Colomba di Furietti*, from the first possessor, who published upon the subject. It was purchased for the Capitol by Clement XIII.

Some ancient stone weights are preserved here; which, from their appearance, cannot have lost much of their original weight.

At the end of the long gallery is the *Stanza degli Imperadori*, so called from a collection of busts of the Roman Emperors and their families; to the number of seventy-six, from J. Caesar to Julian. In the middle of the room is Agrippina, Nero's mother, seated; a most excellent piece of sculpture; but the head does not belong to the statue.

Outside of the window is an ancient sun-dial, placed in its proper position. The surface on which the lines are drawn to mark the hours, is concave. Previous to the year of Rome 460, or thereabouts, there was no such thing as a sun-dial in Rome, or any definite manner of marking

the hours. Pliny himself tells us,⁶ that no farther observation of time was noticed in the twelve tables, than the rising and setting of the sun. A contrivance was subsequently adopted for one of the consul's officers to make proclamation when the middle of the day was arrived, which he ascertained by watching; when he could see the sun from the senate-house between the *Rostra* and the *Græcostasis*.⁷ By a similar observation he proclaimed the end of the day. L. Papirius Cursor erected the first dial in Rome, U. C. 460, on the Temple of Quirinus. Pliny relates this on the authority of Fabius Vestalis; but he tells us at the same time, that, according to Varro, M. Valerius Messala was the first introducer of sun-dials; he having brought one to Rome from Catania, and placed it on a column in the Forum near the *Rostra*, U. C. 491. The Romans were not sufficient astronomers at that day to be aware, that a dial set for the meridian of Catania would not mark the hours accurately at Rome.⁷ For ninety-nine years no correction or alteration was made; but in 590, Q. Marcius Philippus, who was then censor, had a proper

⁶ Lib. vii. c. 60.

⁷ This was a building near the *Curia*, where foreign ambassadors were lodged.

⁷ We cannot accuse Lord Elgin of similar ignorance in moving the sun-dial from Athens, which is now to be seen in the British Museum. But surely great part of the interest and all the value of this piece of antiquity is lost, by its being taken from its proper situation.

one constructed, and placed near the other. The ancient sun-dial may be seen very perfectly on the tower of Cyrrhestes at Athens, and in the engravings of it by Stewart.* Water-clocks were not introduced till 595, by Scipio Nasica.

The Stanza de' Filosofi, contains seventy-nine busts of ancient philosophers, beside a great many which are unknown. One of the busts is said to be that of Cicero, and there is another very like it in the Gallery at Florence. There are however great disputes as to the true features of the great orator: and it is utterly impossible, that all the busts which go by his name, can represent his true portrait. Cicero himself mentions somewhere his *long and slender neck*, an expression which certainly does not confirm the authenticity of these two busts. There is another in the Florentine Gallery, which might seem to have better pretensions; and this is generally considered to be the true likeness. The only ancient bust with the orator's name inscribed, was in the Mattei Collection at Rome, and is now, I believe, in the possession of the Duke of Wellington. A Magnesian medal, which was once preserved in a monastery at Ravenna, exhibits his profile and name in Greek. Mr. Kelsall, to whom I am indebted for these details, has engraved* the profile of a statue found at Tusculum, which he is inclined to think was

* An engraving of an ancient sun-dial may be seen in Dodwell's Tour through Greece, vol. i. p. 231.

* Classical Excursion from Rome to Arpino.

intended for Cicero. A fine statue of him may be seen in the Pomfret Collection at Oxford.

In the next room is a collection of statues, many of which have great merit. Among them will be observed a figure of Harpocrates, the god of silence, with his finger on his mouth. It was found in Hadrian's villa, in 1744. These statues were very common in the ancient temples, as we learn from Augustin, where he says, "Since in almost every temple where Isis and Serapis were worshipped, there was also an image which seemed to command silence by the finger being pressed upon the lips, Varro conceived this to signify, that the fact of their having been men should be kept silent." We learn from other writers the connection between Harpocrates and the Egyptian rites. Plutarch in his treatise *de Iside et Osiride*, expressly says, that he was son of Isis and Osiris. Ovid alludes to the attitude in which Harpocrates is drawn,

Quique premit vocem digitoque silentia suadet

MET. ix. 691.

Sometimes he was represented with a pear on his head, which was considered a type of silence and truth, from the resemblance which the core of it bears to a heart, and the leaf to the tongue.

In the next room is the statue of a Faun in Rosso Antico. This is among the marbles, which are only known from the ancient specimens, and

^b De Civ. Dei, lib. xviii. c. 5.

DYING GLADIATOR

of which there is no quarry near
seems to be the same with what
as he mentions a variety of it, v
taining a few white spots was c
phos, he cannot mean Porphyr,
ably spotted, and not always red,
this. He tells us, that the quarrie
Egypt, and afforded blocks of ab
and in the Treasury at Mycenæ, w
marks of an Egyptian origin, d th
blocks of Rosso Antico. If we ar
posing the Rosso Antico to be the
Pliny, we may learn from a passa
that the quarries were brought to I
were made of it and brought to I
of Claudius, but not much appr
the example followed. So that v
from this passage, the date of th
tioned. It was found in Hadria
In the last room is the cel
the Dying Gladiator, as it is ge
probably incorrectly. The pe
is, seems on the very point
naked, with a cord clasped r
lies on a shield, upon which
thing like a horn, with a st
the horn is represented as
on the ground, and the sh,

^c Lib. xxxvi. c. 11.

^e De Mart. Palæst. c. 8.

The whole appearance of the statue is contrary to the notion of its being a gladiator: nor were the Greeks sufficiently addicted to spectacles of that kind, to suggest a dying gladiator as a subject for a sculptor. There is a passage in Pliny^f where some such statue as this is described. He tells us, that Ctesilas (who was contemporary with Phidias) made the statue of a person who was wounded and is just sinking; in which you could see, exactly how much life was remaining in him. Some persons have been caught by these words, and concluded that we have in the Capitol a work of Ctesilas. But Pliny is speaking of a bronze statue, so that this cannot be the work described by him, or at least it could be only a copy. The question then remains, what did the sculptor intend to represent? The cord and the horn are the only peculiarities to guide us in our conjectures. Winkelmann^g thinks that it was intended for a herald; and he certainly brings a remarkable testimony in favour of his opinion, in the inscription over the statue of a man who had been victorious at the Olympic games, and was himself a herald. The words are,

οὐτ' ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων, οὐτ' ἀναδείγματ' ἔχων.^h

The meaning of which is, that he fulfilled his office without either horn or cord. Hesychius gives

^f Lib. xxxiv. c. 19.

^g Lib. vi. c. 2. § 24, &c.

^h Vid. Poll. Onom. lib. iv. § 92.

this explanation of ἀναδσίη
 καὶ τῶν τῶν χαλκῶν, a *bridle* or
 and it appears that heralds
 fasten a cord round their t
 not injure themselves in sp
 horn.¹ This inscription t
 that the herald in questi
 audible at the games by hi
 either cord or horn. Th
 nious; and no other hypot
 horn and cord being added:
 critics are agreed that ταν
 tuted for ἵπλος in the expla
 and a passage given below
 this emendation. Τανύλας wa
 is modern language, a *crav*
 sage quoted by Winkelmann
 illustration of the cord, whic
 the statue. We may certai
 not been for this inscription,
 thought of guessing the figu
 lonce conceived that it mig
 person who had killed him
 for a name, I should recom
 of those characters of antiqu
 guished themselves by suic
 found at Antium, by Cardina
 and belonged for some time

¹ Vid. Martial, lib. iv. ep. 41.
 κ . . . καὶ τῶ νικῆσαντι μὴ τανύλας, ἀ
 τῶν κριτῶν γένεσθαι. Xen. Sympos.

The right hand is modern, and so is part of the base. Some say that they were added by Michel Angelo.

The Venus of the Capitol, as it is generally styled, is also in this room. She is supposed to be coming out of the bath, and bears some resemblance to the Venus de' Medici. The attitude of this latter statue was a favourite one with the sculptors. Several like it are to be seen in the gallery at Florence, and Ovid mentions it in the following verse:

*Ipsa Venus pubem, quoties velamina ponit,
Protegitur læva semireducta manu.*

ART. AM. lib. ii. 613.

Much controversy has arisen, whether the Venus de' Medici is the famous Venus of Cnidos, the chef-d'œuvre of Praxiteles. This was at Cnidos in the time of Arcadius and Honorius, and was exhibited in a small temple, open on all sides. Pliny says,¹ that Cnidos owed to this statue its celebrity and concourse of strangers. From thence it was removed to Constantinople; and Cedrenus tells us, that it stood in the Palace of the Lausi. The same author describes the attitude of the statue, Κνιδία Ἀφροδίτη ἐκ λίθου λευκῆς, γυμνή, μόνην τὴν αἰδῶ τῇ χειρὶ περιστέλλουσα, ἔργον τοῦ Κνιδίου Πραξιτέλους. From these words, the Venus de' Medici might be the same with that at Cnidos: but we have no history of its removal

¹ Lib. xxxvi. c. 5.

from Constantinople to Rome for good reasons for thinking the left arm is different in the statue of Praxiteles. For we suppose, that the coins struck the real statue which made these agree with the Medallion one arm is extended, and over a vase.^m It must be remembered that the two arms of the modern Venus of Praxiteles was without any drapery. If Cedrenus is right that the statue stood in the temple it was probably destroyed in the fire which consumed three quarters of the city and among other buildings the temple of Lausi.^o If the identity of the statue with that of Cnidos be given, the Vatican may perhaps claim it as with the representation on the coin on the Pincian hill. The statue in the Vatican, which is thought to be a copy of that by Praxiteles, is the Medallion copy found near the temple of Vespasiani. It is singular that Pliny

It is singular
The figure may be seen o
ther of Plautilla.
xiii. Hist. Com

er of Plautine
n Amor. xiii.
Cedren

ther of Plautilla.
 " Amor. xiii.
 • Vid. Cedrenus Hist. Com
 Evagr. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c
 VOL. I.

several statues as being near this spot, mentions one of Venus washing herself.*

On the base of one of the statues in this room is the following inscription, which may be thought worth copying, from the beauty of some of the sentiments, though it has often been printed before. On one side we read,

ATIMETUS.

Si pensare animas sinerent crudelia fata,
Et posset redimi morte aliena salus,
Quantulacunque meæ debentur tempora vitæ,
Pensassem pro te, cara Homonœa, libens.
At nunc, quod possum, fugiam lucemque Depoque,
Ut te matura per Styga morte sequar.

HOMONŒA.

Parce tuam, conjux, fletu quassare juventam,
Fataque mœrendo sollicitare mea,
Nil prosunt lacrymæ, nec possunt fata moveri:
Viximus—hic omnes exitus unus habet,
Parce ita—non unquam similem experiare dolorem
Et faveant votis numina cuncta tuis.
Quodque mihi eripuit mors immatura juventæ,
Id tibi victuro proroget ulterius.

On the other side is,

HOMONŒA.

Tu, qui segura procedis mente, parumper
Siste gradum, quæso, verbaque pauca lege.
Illa ego, quæ claris fueram prælata puellis,
Hoc Homonœa brevi condita sum tumulo,

* Lib. xxxvi. c. 5.

MUSEUM.

Cui formam Paphie, Charites tribuere decorem,
Quam Pallas cunctis artibus erudiit.
Nondum his denos ætas mea viderat annos,
- Injecere manus invida fata mihi.
Nec pro me queror hoc, morte est mihi tristior
Mæror Atimeti conjugis ille mei.

VIATOR.

Sit tibi terra levis, mulier dignissima vita,
Quæque tuis olim perfruerere bonis.^a

The continuation of the Museum is building opposite, called Palazzo de' Catori. In the court are several fragments of colossal statues; among them a head of Nero, in bronze, which is said to be the same as that emperor placed upon a colossal statue of Nero.^b Winkelmann, however, seems to think it being the head of Commodus:^c and he had already observed that the statue of Nero was in marble. He thinks that it rather resembles the statue of Apollo, which stood in the Vatican Library, and was sixty-two palms high; the height of the head is scarcely eight palms, which would agree better with this statue than the statue of Nero, which was 133 palms high. According to Vitruvius^d the head should be the eighth part of the whole height. There is a

^a The original inscription does not affirm that the statue was of Nero and Homoneæ.

^b Vid. Dio Cass. Lampridius.

^c Lib. iii. c. 1.

Domitian in marble. A colossal foot belonged to a statue in the Temple of Peace.

The Duilian Column is here, at least that which is called so, though there is little probability that it is the same with that which was erected by C. Duilius after his first naval victory over the Carthaginians, U.C. 493. It is a plain column of marble in bas-relief, with three prows of ships on each side, and part of an inscription. It was dug up several years ago in the Forum, not far from the Arch of S. Severus, and has been illustrated with a commentary by P. Ciacconius.^u Pliny mentions such a column;^x “a more ancient memorial is by erecting pillars, as that to C. Mænius, who conquered the old Latins; also to C. Duilius, [some MSS. read Vilius,] who was the first that celebrated a naval triumph over the Carthaginians, which still stands in the Forum.” Servius also, in his commentary upon Virgil, Georg. iii. 29, *et navali surgentes ære columnæ*, says, “Vilius [some MSS. falsely read Julius Cæsar,] erected naval columns for his victory over the Carthaginians by sea; one of which we see at the *Rostra*, another in front of the Circus.” Quintilian also remarks,^y “that the early Latins added the letter D to the ends of words, as we may observe in the naval column erected to Duilius

^u Published in the Collection of Grævius, vol. iv. p. 1811. It has also been illustrated by De Gozze, Roma, 1635, who supplies the deficiencies of the inscription in a manner different from Ciacconius.

^x Lib. xxxiv. c. 11.

^y Lib. i. c. 7.

C. BILIOS. M.F. COS. ADVORSOM. CARTACINIENSEIS. EN. SICELIAD
 REM. CERENS. ECESTANOS. COCNATOS. POPLI. ROMANI. ARTISVMAD
 OBSEDEONED. EXEMET. LECIONEIS. CARTACINIENSEIS. OMNEIS
 MAXIMOSQVE. MACHISTRATOS. LYCAES. BOVHPOS. RELACCEIS
 NOVEN. CASTREIS. EXFOCIONT. MACELIAM. MOENITAM. VRIHFM
 PUCNANDOD. CEPET. ENQVE. EODEM. MACHISTRATOD. PROSPERE
 REM. NAVEBOS. MARID. CONSOL. PRIMOS. CENET. RESMECOSQVE
 CLASESQVE. NAVALES. PRIMOS. ORNAVET. PARATEQVE. DIEBOS. IX.
 CVMQVE. EIS. NAVERYS. CLASEIS. POENICAS. OMNIS. PARATASQVE
 SYMAS. COPIAS. CARTACINIENSIS. PRAESENTED. MAIVMOD.
 DICTATORED. OLOROM. IN. ALTOD. MARIU. PUCNANDOD. VICTE
 XXQVE. NAVEIS. CEPET. CVM. SOCIIS. SEPTEMRESMOMQVE. DVVIS
 QVINRESMOSQVE. TRIRESMOSQVE. NAVEIS. XX. DEPERSET
 AVROM. CAPTOM. NVMEI. OOO DCC
 ARCENTOM. CAPTOM. PRAEDA. NVMEI. CCCLOOC
 CRAVE. CAPTOM. AES. CCCLOO. CCCLOO. CCCLOO. CCCLOO. CCCLOO
 CCCLOO. CCCLOO. CCCLOO. CCCLOO. CCCLOO. CCCLOO. CCCLOO. CCCLOO
 CCCLOO. CCCLOO. CCCLOO. CCCLOO. CCCLOO. CCCLOO. CCCLOO. CCCLOO
 TRIOMPQVE. NAVALED. PRAEDAD. POPLOM. ROMANOM. DONAVET
 CAPTIVOS. CARTACINIENSEIS. INCERVOS. ENET. INTE. CTRM
 PRIMOSQVE. CONSOL. DE. SICEDEIS. CLASEQVE. CARTACINIENSROM
 TRIOMPAVET. EAROM. REROM. ERCO. S.F. Q. B. EL. TANCOR. COLVMNAM. P

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"in the Forum." These passages certainly make the original pillar to have stood in the Forum; and as much of the inscription as remains agrees with Quintilian's observation about the addition of the letter D. Ciacconius, however, in his dissertation, thinks that it certainly is not that which was erected in the time of Duilius, as the carving of the letters is too good for those rude times, and the orthography of some of the words is too modern. He has supplied what is wanting in the inscription, which I shall copy, as a specimen of early Latin. That which is within the line is what remains; the rest is supplied by conjecture. [*See the Plate.*]

The inscription, in more modern orthography, would be this:

C. DUILIVS. M. F. COS. ADVERSVS. CARTHAGINIENSES. IN. SICILIA
REM. GERENS. EGESTANOS. COGNATOS. POPVLI. ROMANI. ARCTISSIMA
OBSIDIONE. EXEMIT. LEGIONES. CARTHAGINIENSES. OMNES
MAXIMOSQVE. MAGISTRATVS. ELEPHANTIS. RELICTIS
NOVEM. CASTRIS. EFFVGERVNT. MACELLAM. MVNITAM. VRBEM
PVGNANDO. CEPIT. INQVE. EODEM. MAGISTRATV. PROSPERE
REM. NAVIVS. MARI. CONSVL. PRIMVS. GESSIT. REMIGESQVE
CLASSESQVE. NAVALES. PRIMVS. ORNAVIT. PARAVITQVE. DIEBVS. LX
CVHQVE. IIS. NAVIVS. CLASSES. PVNICAS. OMNES. PARATASQVE
SYMNAS. COPIAS. CARTHAGINIENSES. PRAESENTE. MAXIMO
DICTATORE. ILLORVM. IN. ALTO. MARI. PVGNANDO. VICIT
XXXQVE. NAVES. CEPIT. CVM. SOCIIS. SEPTIREMEMQVE. DVCS
QVINQVEREMESQVE. TRIREMESQVE. NAVES. XX. DEPRESSIT
AVRM. CAPTVM. NVMMI. IŮ. M. DCQ
ARGENTVM. CAPTVM. PRAEDA. NVMMI. C.M. C
GRAVE. CAPTVM. AES. XXI. C.M. PONDO
TRIUMPHOQVE. NAVALI. PRAEDA. POPVLVM. ROMANVM. DONAVIT
CAPTIVOS. CARTHAGINIENSES. INGENVOS. DVXIT. ANTE. CVRRVM
PRIMVSQVE. CONSVL. DE. SICVLIS. CLASSEQVE. CARTHAGINIENSIVM
TRIUMPHAVIT. EARVM. RERV. ERGO. S. P. Q. R. EI. HANCE. COLUMNAM. F

With respect to the numbers expressed in this

inscription, it may be observed, that D stood for one thousand; which explains why D , which is half of that figure, should stand for five hundred. And we may observe the repetition of this figure three times to express three thousand. Perhaps some more figures are lost in this line; but the numbers, as they stand at present, amount to 3700. In the next line, also, some figures are evidently lost at the end, as we may perceive from the C still remaining. CCCLXXX stood for an hundred thousand, as we learn from Priscian; and Fulvius Ursinus has engraved a Roman abacus, in which the numbers from one to a million are expressed thus: $\text{IXL CCCLXXX. CCCLXXX. D. C. X. I}$. But when this pillar was erected, there was no notation for any number beyond an hundred thousand. Pliny himself tells us this: "The ancients had no number beyond an hundred thousand; so that, even in the present day, we merely multiply this, and say, ten hundred thousand, (*decies centena millia*,) and so on." Consequently, in this inscription we find CCCLXXX repeated twenty-one times, which was the only method then known of expressing 2,100,000. Even in the writings of Cicero, we may find abundant instances of this awkward method of notation.*

With respect to the money mentioned in this

* Lib. xxxii. c. 47.

* Vide Or. pro Q. Rosc. c. 8. in Ver. Act. ii. lib. iii. c. 33, 34, 39.

ROMAN MONEY

inscription, we may observe there was no gold coin at that time; there was made by so many brass, which was called *Æ*. us, that brass-money was first of Servius Tullius; before was used in its rude state, that some writers made money.^c The *As* at first was and was divided into two coins were, *Semissis*, or 1 ounce; *Quadrans*, or 1/4 ounce; *Sextans*, two weight as the value and weighed same were reckoned in pounds; of *Æs grave*. *Impendia*, &c. prove circulating by weight. *Ærarium*, *Tribuni A* *Militum*, show, that but brass;^a and, as a son who was in debt another man's copper of Rome 485, five war, silver was coin the *Denarius*, equal brass; *Quinarius*,

^b Lib. xxxiii. c. 13.

^c Lib. xxxiv. c. 1.

etymologists of Rome.

^a Vide Plin. lib. xii.

tertium, two lbs. and a half. Still the computation by *Æs grave* continued, because the pound weight of brass was the common standard. But in the course of the first Punic war a great alteration was made; the *As* was diminished five-sixths, the pound being divided into six *Asses*, each of which only equalled two ounces. In the second Punic war, the *As* was farther reduced to one ounce; and afterwards, by the *Lex Papiria*, to only half an ounce. Gold coin was not struck till the year 547, which was the thirteenth of the second Punic war.

On the walls of the staircase is an old bas-relief of Curtius leaping into the gulf.* An inscription, in verse, also states, that the *Caroccio*, taken by Frederic II. from the Milanese, is preserved here; but I could not hear any thing of it. The *Caroccio* was a kind of waggon, painted red, and carried along with the armies in those times, the national standard being displayed upon it. That of Milan required four pairs of oxen to draw it.^f

The Picture Gallery is in this collection, and almost equals that of the Vatican in excellence: In number it greatly exceeds it.

In an adjoining room is the celebrated bronze wolf, with two children sucking. The children are allowed to be modern, but great controversies have arisen as to the identity of the wolf with

* Vide Flam. Vacca, 2.

^f Vide Muratori Antiq. Ital. Diss. xxvi.

WOLF.

that which Cicero mentions to with lightning. He says, ^s "R of this city, was also struck, " was a small figure in the C " the teats of a wolf." Dio C the circumstance,^h and makes in the year of Rome 689. T hind legs of this have been identity; and Venuti asserts, in the Church of St. Theodo century. The authority for t doubtful. Fulvio says, tha near the *Ficus Ruminalis*; only mentions its having be Forum. Pancirolli, who wr the wolf had been removed this church not many years calls to mind the words of I ing of the Lupercal, says, " "the street leading to the " of Romulus near to it, in "two children; an ancient also^k mentions that such the *Ficus ruminalis*, U. (the same thing.^l As trad of St. Theodore to hav Romulus, some little sup quity of this figure, by t

^s 3 in Cat. c. 8. He men
c. 12. and lib. ii. c. 20.

^h Lib. xxxvii.

^k Lib. x. c. 23.

preserved there so late as the sixteenth century. Winkelmann is inclined to support its identity with that mentioned by Cicero; and as Dionysius calls it an ancient work, he attributes it to the Tuscans.^m Nardiniⁿ and Ficoroni^o also lean to the same side. It should be remembered, however, that the passages quoted do not exactly agree. Dionysius says, that the figure stood in a Temple of Romulus, at the foot of the Palatine Hill. Cicero and Dio Cassius place it in the Capitol. To which may be added, that Cicero certainly speaks of it as if it was no longer in existence; "*fuisse meministis*," and (*de Divin.*) "*Hic sylvestris erat Romani nominisatrix*." Nor do the fractures in the hind legs sufficiently answer to Cicero's description.

Quæ tum cum pueris flammato fulminis tota.
Concidit, atque avulsa pedum vestigia, liquit.

Which words seem to imply, that the feet were broken off. I conceive Winkelmann to be certainly wrong in one point; that he makes the wolf mentioned by Dionysius and Livy to be the same with that which was struck with lightning in Cicero's time. There seem to have been two such figures.

Among the greatest curiosities preserved here are the Capitoline Marbles, or Fasti Consulares, containing a list of the consuls and all public officers, from Romulus to U.C. 724. After the

^m Lib. iii. c. 2. § 34.

ⁿ Lib. v. c. 4.

^o Lib. i. c. 10.

ESQUILINE AND

year 610, the account is before: only one tribune out of the ten, and several omitted. They were found in not far from the Church of *trice*.^p They are in several fragments; but the inscription. Another portion was found in plies some names which were in the fire, which consumed time of Vitellius, all the records were burnt. Vespasian, who had the loss repaired by authentic documents; and in that these fragments are of the

ESQUILINE AND V

The Esquiline and V scarcely any ruins, except the former, and the Baths latter. They will both be come to the subject of the hill is small, and mostly it is indeed rather difficult the Baths of Diocletian

^p They have been published

nus.
^q A complete list of all the
tion of Rome to the death of
lished by Chryserus, who was
Theophil. ad Autol. 3, 27.

Quirinal hill, as the two eminences come to a junction in this place. In walking from the Trinità de' Monti to S. Maria Maggiore, and thence to S. John Lateran, the ascent of all the four hills, the Quirinal, the Viminal, the Esquiline, and the Cælian, is evident.

QUIRINAL HILL.

The Quirinal Hill is now known by the name of Monte Cavallo, from the two horses on the top of it. These were found in the Baths of Constantine, and stand in the middle of a large open space, on either side of an Egyptian obelisk. They were placed here by Sextus V., who also began the Palace on this hill. With each horse is the colossal figure of a man in marble, and one group is said to be the work of Phidias, the other of Praxiteles. But this is very uncertain, as is the subject which they were intended to represent. Some call them Castor and Pollux; others Alexander taming Bucephalus. This latter conjecture cannot be true: at least, if it is so, we must give up the idea of their being the work of Phidias and Praxiteles: for Phidias, according to Pliny, flourished in the eighty-third Olympiad; but Alexander was born in the one hundred and sixth, ninety-two years after. According to the same author, Praxiteles flourished in the one hundred and fourth Olympiad, eight

years before the birth of, can scarcely suppose that I statue of him. The former two figures were intended for seems more probable, from on the reverse of which are horses, exactly in this attitude AETERNITAS. But it is not at are really the works of those they lived at the distance of years from each other, where seem evidently to have been. At all events, the words OPVS PRAXITELIS, which are written have been of later date. So that these names were affixed Alexandria, from whence the horses to Rome: Evelyn says, but authority, that they were sent dates, King of Armenia. The on the Capitol very like them.

The Abbè Dubos found four on the Quirinal Hill, as being tion. But Winkelmann defends, that whatever is ancient The four horses lately men Naples, with figures of Non son upon them, which were neum, are nearly the only an we have of this kind in stone.

* Vide Spence's Anecdotes, P. 94

the statue of M. Aurelius on the Capitol, and the four horses at Venice. The Abbè Dubos and other writers have ventured to accuse the Greeks of not being successful in their representation of the horse. Winkelmann on the other hand thinks, that they have shown themselves perfectly masters of their subject, and that the specimens, which remain to us, are the finest that could be desired. As far as the execution is concerned, I should not presume to question such an authority as Winkelmann: but if the Venetian horses are to be the test, he must at least allow us to conclude, that the breed of horses in Greece was far inferior to what the moderns admire; and that the *beau-ideal* of the Greeks with respect to that animal was any thing but elegant. Dodwell says, that the Grecian horses, particularly those of Thessaly, are remarkable for having thick necks;^u and this is recorded to have been the case with Alexander's celebrated charger, Bucephalus.*

Another difference of opinion has existed, as to whether the ancients understood the manner in which a horse lifts his feet in walking. It is generally said, that they were ignorant of the true gait; and always made the two legs of the same side quit the ground at once. This is not a correct statement. The four horses at Venice, those of Castor and Pollux on the Capitol, and of Nonius Balbus at Naples, certainly have their legs raised in that way. But the horse of M.

^u Vol. i. p. 339.

* Strabo, lib. 15. p. 698.

Aurelius lifts them diagonally, and so do four horses represented in a bas-relief, as attached to a chariot of the same Emperor, also in the Capitol. This seems to be the natural and real motion. But if the ancients were divided upon this point, the moderns are so likewise: at least we have a treatise by Boul,⁷ where he asserts, that horses lift up the two feet of the same side at once; and Baldinucci, in his *Lives of the Painters*,⁸ says the same thing. The other side of the question is maintained by Magalotti.⁹

The men attached to these horses are 18 $\frac{2}{3}$ feet high, and considered fine specimens of sculpture.

Upon descending the hill towards Trajan's Forum, we see a lofty square tower of brick, very perfect, which is sometimes said to have been built by Augustus or Trajan for the soldiers, and therefore called Torre delle Milizie. But it is supposed not to be older than the time of Innocent III. When Trajan's Column was erected, a great change was made in the appearance of the Quirinal Hill. The inscription on the pillar is mutilated at the bottom, and it is difficult to make out exactly what is meant to be expressed: but we must certainly understand from it, that the height of the Column equals the height of the ground, which was cut away to make the Forum level. This seems almost incredible, if we suppose it to mean, that the Quirinal Hill extended thus far,

⁷ De Motu Animal. p. i. c. 20.

⁸ Tom. ii. p. 59.

⁹ Lettere Famil. p. 666.

and that the whole side of it was cut away: nor can we well suppose a separate hill to have existed here, which was removed to make room for the Column.

CÆLIAN HILL.

The Cælian Hill contains little, except some fragments of Aquaducts, and vestiges of ancient building near the Church of St. John and St. Paul. These two saints were brothers, and eunuchs in the Court of Constantia, daughter of Constantine. They were put to death by order of Julian the Apostate, and a Church was built upon the spot by Pammachus, a friend of St. Jerom, who died A. D. 410. Venuti considers the ruins, which join on to this church, to have been *Vivaria*, or places for the wild beasts intended for the amphitheatres. But by many they are supposed to be remains of the *Curia Hostilia*, which Livy places upon this hill.^b It may be remarked, that there is a very fine palm-tree in the garden of this Convent, the only one, I believe, certainly the largest, in Rome.

The Church of St. Stephen is also on this hill, which is curious for its round form, and for having been built A. D. 483, or thereabouts, by Pope Simplicius,^c if it is not much older. Some antiquaries say, that it was anciently a Temple of Bacchus: others, a Temple of Claudius. It was repaired and considerably altered by Nicholas V.

^b Lib. i. c. 30.

^c Platina.

It is round, with two concentric rows of Ionic pillars. In the inner row there are twenty, beside two Corinthian pilasters, and in the area, which they inclose, are two other Corinthian pillars, higher than the rest, and supporting arches. The exterior row consists of thirty-four pillars, beside eight square piles, disposed at regular intervals, apparently for greater strength; eight of these pillars are Corinthian, and higher than the rest. Most of the pillars are of granite: some are of marble, as are the bases and capitals of all. The walls are of brick. L. Fauno is inclined to consider it the Temple of Vesta, which was built by Numa, or to stand upon the same site. It is engraved by Desgodetz, who calls it a Temple of Faunus, and adds, without expressing any doubt, that it was built by the Emperor Claudius. According to him, Pope Simplicius only consecrated it to Christian purposes, and Nicholas V. repaired it. What is his evidence for making Claudius the builder of it, does not appear. There is more reason on the side of those persons, who say, that Claudius was the deity, to whom it was dedicated; for Suetonius tells us,^d that a temple was erected to Claudius in the reign of Vespasian on the Caelian hill: and it is mentioned both by S. Rufus and P. Victor. I shall have occasion to allude to this temple again; and if we could be certain that it was built in the reign of Claudius, it might afford some important evidence in the history of

^d In Vespas. c. 9.

architecture. It is now difficult to get access to this Church, as service is never performed in it, except on the festival of the saint. The whole hill is indeed almost deserted, and, excepting near the Church of St. John Lateran, there are very few houses upon it. The Cæliolus was probably the level ground between the Colosseum, the church of St. Clement, and the Esquiline hill.

AVENTINE HILL.

The Cælian and Aventine hills seem more to belong to a country, which has been deserted by its inhabitants, than to be inclosed within the walls of a populous city. There is reason to believe, that Mount Aventine was never much built upon: it was given to the Latins U.C. 119, and probably was always turned to use by cultivation. Pliny speaks of it in the plural,^e *Nemo sacros Aventinosque montes et iratæ plebis secessus circumspexerit*, &c. but this is probably owing to its being intersected by a road, which may be called a valley dividing it into two hills. It is now occupied by gardens, with here and there a solitary church built out of the fragments of ancient edifices. Of these, S. Sabina and S. Maria are worthy of observation. The baths of *Caracalla*, which will be described hereafter, can hardly be said to be upon the Aventine hill. The tomb of the Scipios is also interesting; of which some

^e Lib. xix. c. 4.

notice will be given under that division of the present work.

From this hasty sketch of the seven hills, it may be seen, that modern Rome can scarcely be said to rest upon that base, which the poets of old were so fond of celebrating. By far the greater part of it is in the Campus Martius; and it perhaps would not be a rash assertion to say, that two-thirds of the space within the walls are not built upon. Beside this difference of position between the habitable part of ancient and modern Rome, another remarkable change has taken place in the level of the ground. From the frequent demolitions of buildings, either by violence or in the natural progress of time, the soil has accumulated in some places to an incredible height. This, as might be expected, is most apparent in the valleys between the hills. The pillar of Trajan was buried even above the pedestal, and this measures fifteen feet. The arches of S. Severus and of Constantine had suffered in the same way; and in some parts of the Forum the fact is still more remarkable. There is reason to believe, that if a town were to be overthrown and entirely deserted, the natural process of vegetation and decay would in the course of ages cover up many of the fragments. In the Campagna of Rome, which is so thickly covered with ruins, this has undoubtedly been the case; as by excavating, we arrive at the foundation of buildings, over which no later edifice has been raised, but which are merely covered

with a vegetable mould. In the remains of Roman settlements and villas in our own country, the process has been the same. But Rome, though frequently overthrown, has never been deserted. It stands as a link in the chain, which connects ancient and modern history; and in this part the continuity has never been broken. Even if contemporary accounts were silent, we might learn from recent excavations how overwhelming were the calamities which befel this unhappy city. Near the pillar of Trajan, we find whole rows of columns still standing on their bases, but broken off some feet from the bottom. If the research were to be continued, it would probably be found, that all this part of modern Rome is raised a great height above the ancient level; and that the buildings which were thrown down, instead of being restored, or employed in the works which succeeded them, were permitted to lie prostrate, and formed into one mass to receive the new structures. As the city suffered so frequently from invaders, we need not be surprised at the greatness of this accumulation. I do not mean to deny, that in some parts, particularly in the Forum, much has been done by the mere progress of time; but that the raising of the level has mostly been caused by the demolition of buildings, seems evident from a comparison of the pillar of Trajan with that of M. Aurelius. Venedi remarks the singular fact of so much of the former being buried, while the latter is uncovered to the very bottom of the pedestal. He does not, how-

ever, give a reason for this difference, which seems very obvious. The pillar of M. Aurelius stood in the Campus Martius, where there were scarcely any houses; whereas that of Trajan was erected in a part which had always been built upon. Consequently when the work of pillage was completed, the whole area round the pillar of Trajan was a mass of ruins, while that of M. Aurelius still stood in the open plain, and having itself escaped the destroyers, was not buried in any succeeding buildings. It is easy to understand, why, after the universal destruction of a city, the inhabitants should rather build upon the ruins as they lay, than commence the laborious process of clearing them away. But in the Campus Martius there were few houses to throw down; and the public buildings which remain are not nearly so much buried, as those in the neighbourhood of the Forum. The Portico of the Pantheon was formerly ascended by seven steps; two only now remain above the surface; but the difference of five steps is nothing, when compared with the accumulation of soil at the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, in the Forum. At the Temple of Antoninus Pius, (the modern custom-house,) we have the bases of the pillars still above the ground; and though in the Mausoleum of Augustus the area is considerably raised, this is evidently effected by the upper part of the building having fallen in,

PANTHEON.

We are now led to consider the buildings in the Campus Martius,¹ and we cannot do better than begin with that which is the most perfect of all the remains of ancient Rome, the Pantheon of Agrippa. It is indeed the only one of the Pagan temples, which preserves any thing of its original appearance; and we may rather be surprised that this has escaped so well, than that more have not come down to us; for after Christianity was established in the Roman empire by Constantine, the zeal of the Christians was so excessive, that they commenced a general destruction of all buildings which had been consecrated to heathen rites.² According to S. Jerom, there were in his time two hundred and eight temples in Rome, all of which seem to have suffered spoliation; and in 399, Honorius issued a special decree to protect the ancient edifices from the furious zeal of the new religion.

The Pantheon is now known by the name of S. Maria ad Martyres, and more commonly La Rotonda, having been dedicated to the Virgin by Pope Boniface IV., who received it from the Emperor Phocas, A.D. 607: and as he removed

¹ This name is still preserved in the Piazza di Campo Marzo, and in one of the fourteen *Rioni*, into which modern Rome is divided.

² Vide Euseb. Vita Const. lib. iii. c. 56, &c.: lib. iv. c. 39. Sozomen. lib. ii. c. 5.

to this place the remains of saints and martyrs from the different cemeteries, enough to fill twenty-eight waggons, it received the additional title of *ad Martyras*. Gregory IV., in 830, dedicated it to all the saints, and it was upon this occasion that the Festival of All Saints was instituted in the Catholic Church. The Pantheon was erected by Agrippa, twenty-six years before Christ, in memory of Augustus's victory over Antony, and dedicated to Jupiter Ultor, and all the gods. It would seem however from Dio,^b that the origin of the term Pantheon was not quite ascertained. He says, "It is perhaps called so, because in the statues of Mars and Venus, it received the images of several deities. But as it appears to me, it has its name from the convex form of its roof, giving a representation of the heavens." It suffered from fire in the time of Titus, and was repaired by Domitian. It was also injured by lightning in the twelfth year of Trajan, and was repaired by Hadrian;ⁱ and again by S. Severus and M. Aur. Antoninus, about the year 203, as the inscription on the architrave informs us.^k

The first view of this building will disappoint

^b Lib. liii.

ⁱ Spartian. Hadrian. 19.

^k Spartian says, that though Severus repaired many buildings, he scarcely ever put his name upon them. It is singular that we have two instances still remaining of his laying aside this modesty, at the Pantheon and the Portico of Octavia.

most persons. The round part may be pronounced decidedly ugly; and a Corinthian portico is certainly not so striking, when centuries have passed over it and disfigured it, as one of the Doric order. The two turrets or bellies, which are a modern addition by Bernini, must offend every eye. The situation of the building is also very bad, it being in a dirty part of the city, and closely surrounded with houses. The body of the church, or round part, is of brick; but this was not its original appearance, as it was at first covered entirely with marble. All this has been carried away, and the exterior surface, as it now stands, is, as was observed, extremely ugly. The arches which appear in the second and third stories, are the continuation of the vaulting of the roofs, which cover the chapels and the cavities, which, as will be mentioned shortly, are cut out of the thickness of the wall.

The Portico however is a majestic structure. The most inexperienced eye would observe a want of agreement between this and the body of the building. The cornice of the one does not accord with that of the other: and a singular effect is produced by there being a pediment on the temple, which rises above that of the portico, so that in fact there are two pediments. This has caused some controversy among the antiquaries. But it is now generally supposed that Agrippa built the whole, though perhaps at different times, and the portico may have been an afterthought.

The inscription, which ascribes the building to Agrippa, stands over the portico. *M. AGRIPPA. L. F. COS. TERTIUM. FECIT.* And as we can neither suppose that the portico was built first, or that this inscription was placed before the dedication, or that any other person who added such an ornament would have suffered Agrippa's name to supplant his own, we must conclude, that the whole was the work of Agrippa. We must infer the same from the words of Dio Cassius,⁷ who tells us, that Agrippa placed statues of Augustus and himself in the *Pronaos*; for as the temple is circular, nothing can be intended by the term *Pronaos*, but the present or a preceding portico. To these argu-

⁷ Between the third consulship of Pompey and the third of Agrippa, the grammarians of Rome had probably made up their minds as to the propriety of writing *tertium* and not *tertio*. For when Pompey was going to dedicate his theatre, and a temple to Venus Victrix, he asked the learned of Rome, whether he should express his third Consulship by *cos. tertium* or *tertio*; they were much divided in their answers, and Cicero was applied to; with that caution peculiar to his character, he would not commit himself by opposing any other opinion, and advised the first part, *tertium* being only written, which was done. When the building was repaired some time after, the difficulty was avoided by writing *cos. iii.* Aulus Gellius, who gives us this anecdote, (x. 10.) adds, that Varro made this distinction between the two forms: "Annullus est quarto prætorum fieri, et quartum; quod quarto locum adsignificat ac tres ante factos; quartum tempus adsignificat et ter ante factum." Varro would have written *tertium*.

⁸ Lib. l. iii.

ments may be added a passage from Suetonius,ⁿ which seems to demonstrate, that the Portico, as it now stands, with its inscription, was erected in the reign of Augustus. This writer tells us, that "as the Emperor was holding the *lustrum* in the Campus Martius, an eagle flew to the neighbouring temple, and settled upon the first letter of Agrippa's name." We can hardly suppose this to be any other temple than the Pantheon. The evidence of coins is sometimes of importance, when applied to Roman buildings; but in the present case little assistance is afforded, and that little is not free from suspicion. In a work published by Du Choul, "*Discours sur la Religion des anciens Romains*,"^o an engraving is given, at p. 7, of a brass coin, having on one side the head of Agrippa, with M. AGRIPPA. L. F. COS. III. and on the reverse a round building resembling the Pantheon, with a portico of six columns. The number of columns certainly does not agree; but if the coin were genuine, we must attribute this to accident, because both the inscriptions agree as to the date, ascribing it to the third consulship of Agrippa. There are also some windows represented on the coin as over the portico, which do not exist at present. The evidence, imperfect as it is, is also suspicious, as the learned have decided that the coin is spurious. In another work,

ⁿ Aug. c. 97.

^o The work is also in Latin, "*Veterum Romanorum Religio, &c.*:" the coin is engraved at p. 3.

published by Oiselin, (*Thesaurus Numismatum*), there is an engraving, at p. 158, of a coin, which the editor considers as representing the Pantheon. He only gives one side of it, on which is rovt. VICTORI. P. M. TR. III. and a portico of six columns, with a great space between the middle ones, in which is a figure of Jupiter. The whole is backed by a building like a pyramid, with steps leading up to the portico.^p Scaliger certainly hints the probability of there having been more than one building called *Pantheon*, but he does not bring any evidence to that effect.^q

The portico is 110 feet long by 44 deep, supported by sixteen columns of the Corinthian order. Each is of one piece of oriental granite, 42 feet high, without the bases and capitals, which are of white marble: they are about 15 English feet in circumference. The opening between the two middle pillars is larger than the openings between the others; which is the case, also, with those of the Temples of Concord; and of Antoninus and Faustina; but the difference is scarcely to be perceived without measuring them. Vitruvius leads us to expect this in the best built temples; for he tells us,^r that the intercolumniations in a portico should equal two diameters and one fourth; but that the middle intercolumniation should equal three diameters. A temple so constructed he calls *Eustylos*. He adds, that they had no

^p It is also engraved in the work of Du Choul, p. 35.

^q In Euseb. Chron. an. 2126. ^r Lib. iii. c. 2.

example of that kind in Rome; which, as the Pantheon was built A.C. 26, and Vitruvius published his work late in the reign of Augustus, might be brought as a proof that the portico was a subsequent addition. I have not seen this passage adduced in argument, nor perhaps is there much weight in it; for Vitruvius is speaking of temples surrounded on all sides by a colonnade; in both fronts of which this excess of the middle intercolumniation ought to prevail. So that it may be said, that he took no notice of the Pantheon, because there was only a single portico to it. According to the plan of Desgodetz, neither the diameters of the columns nor the intercolumniations are uniform. L. Fauno, who wrote in 1548, says, "The roof was formerly supported by sixteen immense pillars, but now by thirteen, for one is wanting, and two have been destroyed by fire. The same portico is supported by brazen beams, gilt." There seems some confusion as to the time when the three pillars were restored. Desgodetz says, that Urban VIII. in 1627, had two of the pillars brought back, which had been removed to another place, and restored the capitals which were wanting. Urban reigned from 1623 to 1644; and as Evelyn, who visited Rome in 1645, says, that there were then only thirteen pillars in the portico, it would seem that Desgodetz must be mistaken. I conceive, however, that both of them are wrong. Urban VIII. undoubtedly replaced one of the pillars; and Nibby asserts it to be that on the right hand, towards the

Church of S. Ignatius. The Bee, the armorial bearing of the Barberini family, to which Urban belonged, is introduced into the capital; which is a convincing proof that it was replaced by this Pope, who had the vanity thus to mark his work. We must therefore conclude, that Evelyn, by mistake, put down thirteen in his Diary instead of fourteen. Nibby tells us, that the two other pillars were replaced by Alexander VII. in 1662; who made use of two which were found in the Piazza di S. Luigi. He also imitated his predecessor, in introducing the Star, which is the bearing of the Chigi family, into the capitals. These two pillars are immediately behind the one restored by Urban VIII. Desgodetz remarks, that the two angular pillars were thicker than the rest, according to the rule given by Vitruvius: and the architect who restored them not being aware of this difference in their diameters, has placed the thickest behind the other. Eugenius IV. contributed very much to the improvement of this portico, by clearing away some shops which were placed within it; and early in the sixteenth century, the space in front was freed from many incumbrances and intrusions.

Pomponius Lætus says, that the roof was covered with plates of silver; which, he adds, were carried away by Constans, grandson of Heraclius, when he came to Rome in 663. Paulus Diaconus^s and Anastasius^t relate the

^s Hist. Long. lib. v. c. 11. ^t Vita S. Vitaliani.

same circumstance; but they make the tiles to have been of bronze, which seems more probable. They add, that he sent these and other treasures, which he had collected at Rome, to Syracuse, where he established his court; and that after his death they came into the hands of the Saracens. Winkelmann thinks, that some of these works of art may still be seen in Sicily." Pope Gregory III. covered the roof a second time with plates of brass, which were taken away by Urban VIII. to form the four pillars round the grand altar in St. Peter's; upon which occasion the satirical Pasquin was made to say, "*Quod non fecerunt Barbari Romæ, fecit Barberini.*" This story is so confidently related, and the detail is so minute, that there seems no reason to doubt it; yet Fea, in his description of the Vatican, denies it, and says, that the brass employed by Urban VIII. came from Venice, and was regularly paid for. I am afraid that he exculpates the papal theft at the expense of truth. Indeed, if what Donatus says be true, it is impossible to deny it. He says, that several cannons and military engines were also made out of the metal, and carried to the Castle of S. Angelo. One of the latter, formed out of the nails which kept the plates together, bore, according to Donatus, this inscription: "*Ex clavis trabalis Porticus Agrippæ.*" He says, also, that the following inscription was placed over the door of the temple:

" Lib. vi. c. 8. § 23.

VRBANVS. VIII. PONT. MAX
 VETVSTAS. AHENEI. LACVNARIS
 RELIQVIAS
 IN. VATICANAS. COLVMNAS. ET
 BELLICA. TORMENTA. CONFLAVIT
 VT. DECORA. INVTLIA
 ET. IPSI. PROPE. FAMAE. IGNOTA
 FIERENT
 IN. VATICANO. TEMPLO
 APOSTOLICI. SEPVLCHRI. ORNAMENTA
 IN. HADRIANA. ARCE
 INSTRVMENTA. PVBLICAE. SECVRITATIS
 ANNO. DOMINI. MDCXXXII. PONTIF. IX

I did not see this inscription; but it seems ridiculous to question the account of Donatus, who dedicated his work to this very Pope.* The whole mass of metal weighed 450,250 pounds; the nails alone weighed 9374 pounds.

* A writer in the Foreign Quarterly Review, (No. III. p. 293,) observes, that "Mr. Burton says very gravely, that "it is asserted that an inscription, stating the fact, is erected "at the Pantheon, but that he does not believe this. If, on "going under the portico, he had cast his eyes to the left, "about three or four feet from the great door, this very inscription would have stared him in the face." The Reviewer has mistaken and misrepresented my meaning, which was not, that I had looked for the inscription and could not find it, but I wished, to state, that I copied it from the work of Donatus, and not from personal inspection. The reader will perceive, that so far from professing to disbelieve Donatus, I expressly assert my belief in his story, and have assigned a reason why I believe it.

There is supposed to have been a bas-relief in the pediment, and, from the appearance of nails to fasten it, it was probably of bronze. Some fragments of a horse and car, which have been discovered near the portico, confirm this idea. The ascent to the portico was formerly by seven steps, but now only by two. These are of stone; but they are said formerly to have been of brass. L. Fauno, who wrote in 1548, says, that in his time the entrance was by a descent of many steps; which was owing to the accumulation of soil from the ruin of neighbouring buildings. It was Alexander VII. who cleared this away, and made the entrance as it is at present.

The bronze doors, which lead into the church, are of considerable antiquity. It is asserted by Ficoroni,^y that the original doors were among the spoil carried off by Genseric, and shipwrecked in the Mediterranean. He is followed in this story by other writers; but no authority has been produced, and Procopius, who mentions the pillage committed by Genseric, does not say a word about the doors of the Pantheon. At the upper part of the present doors we may observe a kind of grating, which was probably intended to let in light. L. Fauno partly confirms the assertion of Ficoroni, by remarking, that the doors evidently did not belong originally to this temple, but came from some other building. He says, that they do not fit the aperture, and

^y Lib. i. c. 20.

that in order to remedy this defect some other ancient ornaments have been annexed. The floor is so much raised, as to hide all the pedestals of the columns in the inside.

Of the original decorations of the interior, we learn something from Pliny. He tells us, "There are some Syracusan capitals of columns in the Pantheon, placed there by M. Agrippa." And again, "Diogenes of Athens ornamented the Pantheon of Agrippa. The Caryatides pass for some of the finest works known, as do the statues at the top; but these from their height are less celebrated." When the building was repaired after the fire, great changes took place in the interior. The bronze capitals were perhaps destroyed. The Caryatides also seem to have been removed, which stood in the present attic. The cornice over the lower pillars is scarcely wide enough to have supported them, but this may have been another of the changes made, when the Caryatides were removed. Pilasters were then placed in the attic, and these have very strangely been taken away not many years ago. Ficoroni states, but I do not know upon what authority, that these Caryatides were figures emblematical of the provinces conquered by the Romans. Winkelmann thinks, that one of them may still be seen at Naples, having been removed thither from the Farnese Palace at Rome. It is the upper half of the figure of a

* Lib. xxxiv. c. 3.

* Lib. xxxvi. c. 5.

man, apparently a Persian, naked and without arms, upon whose head is a kind of basket, which seems to be surrounded with the leaves of the Acanthus. It was from accidentally seeing a basket encircled in this manner, that Callimachus first took his idea of the Corinthian capital.^b This mutilated figure with the basket is ten palms and a half high, and the height of the attic is nineteen; so that the proportions will agree very well. As the figure at Naples is that of a man, we should properly call it a *Telamo* or *Atlas*; for such Vitruvius informs us,^c were the terms used to imply male figures placed as columns. Female figures of the same kind were called *Caryatides*; and the same writer gives us the following etymology of the term.^d At the time of the Persian invasion, Carya, a city of Peloponnesus, took the part of the enemy. When the Greeks were victorious, they turned their arms against the traitorous Carya, and levelled it with the ground, and put all the males to the sword. The women, though condemned to slavery, were forced to retain their robes and ornaments of matrons, as a perpetual memorial of their infamy. The architects from this cause took to represent female figures in the attitude of supporting a great burthen; so that the name and the position might hand down the story of Carya to the latest posterity.

Atlas was the Greek term for the male figures, taken, as Vitruvius says, from the fable of Atlas supporting the world. He confesses himself

^b Vitruv. lib. iv. c. 1.

^c Lib. vi. c. 10.

^d Lib. i. c. 1.

ignorant of the etymology of the Latin term *Telamo*. But if Winkelmann is right in calling this a Persian figure, we have in it a confirmation of another remark of Vitruvius; for he proceeds to tell us, that after the defeat of the Persians at Plataeæ, the Greeks began to support the roofs of their houses with figures of prisoners dressed in the Persian costume, and hence came the custom of making statues of Persians support the epistyles and their ornaments.

The height of the whole building is one hundred and forty-four feet, and the diameter the same. From the floor to the base of the attic is forty feet two inches (French). Desgodetz says, that the second story is not properly an attic. There are fourteen windows in it; but they do not open to the outward air, and only give light from the interior of the building to the chapels below, over which they are placed. The projecting part is broad enough for a person to walk round the cupola, and an inscription may be seen in it, which seems to relate to that L. Albinus, who took the Vestal Virgins in his carriage, when the Gauls entered Rome, and conveyed them to Cære. It is much mutilated, but if ancient is certainly curious.

ADRIANUS CAPITOLINUS

TALES. CAERE. DECVIT

QVAE RITVS. SOLEMNES. NE

KENTVR. CVRAI. SIBI. HABVT

ERATA. SACRA. ET. VIRGINES.

The church is lighted by a circular aperture in the roof, nor is there any other window. The opening is twenty-eight feet wide. The rain of course comes into the interior; and when Urban VIII. was making a large drain into the Tiber, a circular reservoir was found, fifteen palms below the pavement of the church, to carry off the water. This was necessary not only for the rain, but on account of the floods, which not unfrequently rise so high as to come into the church. A beautiful effect is produced by visiting the building on these occasions at night, when the moon is reflected upon the water through the aperture of the dome.

In the circuit of the wall there are seven chapels recessed back and cut out of the thickness of it. Six of them have two pillars in front of each, but the seventh, which is opposite to the entrance, is open. Some have thought, that this one is not so old as the rest, but has been formed since the building was consecrated to Christian worship. The ornaments, however, are equally well executed, and agree with the rest, except that there is a difference in the fluting of the lateral pillars, and in the entablature over them. But this may have been an intentional variety in the chapel, which faced the entrance. Between each of these chapels two pillars project from the wall, and behind them is a hollow space taken out of the thickness of it, to which there is no entrance but from without. There are three rows of these cavities, one above the other, eight

in each row, and the only use of them seems to have been to lighten the building.

The remains of several men of genius have been interred in the Pantheon, and among the rest, those of Raffael. His skull is preserved in the Academy of Painting attached to the Church of S. Martino in the Forum.

TEMPLE OF ANTONINUS PIUS.

Next to the Pantheon, the most considerable ruin in the Campus Martius is the Temple of Antoninus Pius, now the Custom-house. The name of the place where this stands is the Piazza di Pietra, which seems to indicate, that numerous fragments of marble have been found here.* The part which is now standing belonged to one of the sides of the portico which surrounded the temple, and consists of eleven columns. It would seem to have been more perfect in the time of L. Fauno, as he makes out that there were formerly forty-two pillars round the temple, and eighteen in the interior supporting the *cella*. Palladio also gives a plan of the whole, and conceives that there were originally fifteen pillars on the side: others say thirteen. They have suffered very much from time, and fire is supposed to have contributed to their defacement. The bases and capitals are almost entirely worn away. They are of Greek marble,

* Vide Flam. Vacca, 21.

thirty-nine feet high, and four in diameter. The spaces between them are filled up with brick-work, so that the whole presents a sad union of magnificence and decay. The brick-work is perhaps necessary to prop up the building. Part of the vast cornice, which they supported, is still tolerably perfect on the outside. When viewed from the court within, it looks more like part of a great stone quarry than a building, from the enormous masses of stone, which are now broken and uneven. A good deal of it was of brick. No part of the temple itself remains. Some call it a Temple of Mars, built by Antoninus Pius; while others think it a Basilica. Spartian mentions a Temple of Antoninus Pius;^f and P. Victor places a Basilica of Antoninus near to his column. Marlianus says, that part of an inscription to this Emperor existed in his time.

PORTICO OF OCTAVIA.

In our own language we have very much contracted the signification of the Latin term *Porticus*, applying it to the part which projects from the front of a building, and is supported by pillars. A *Porch* conveys a still meaner idea, and seems to imply a simple projection without pillars, as the porch of a church. Yet both these terms are used as equivalent to the Latin *Porticus*, and necessarily mislead a reader who is not aware

^f Caracalla, 4.

of the distinction. Solomon's Porch was evidently a spacious colonnade or cloister, which would hold a great concourse of people;^s and the *Porch*, as we are accustomed to call it, at Athens, which gave name to the school of the Stoics, must have been of the same kind. Our language seems singularly unfortunate in its expressions for this sort of building; for we have not only wholly changed the Latin term *Porticus*, but the word which in common use comes nearest to the idea of it, is *Piazza*; and this, as any person acquainted with the Italian language knows, means something quite different,—an open space or square in the middle of a town. Yet Johnson, without making any remark, defines *Piazza* to be a walk under a roof supported by pillars; which is an exact description of what *Porticus* was with the ancients. Perhaps *Porch* originally signified in our language the same as *Porticus*, since Shakspeare talks of "Pompey's Porch,"^h as a place of public resort; and our translators of the Bible, as mentioned above, have written Solomon's Porch.

Few remains of ancient Rome can be identified with more certainty than the fragments of the Portico of Octavia, near S. Angelo in Pescheria. Another church near it is called S. Maria in Porticu. Unfortunately it is a mere fragment, and that only of the portico, without any portion of the two temples, which it inclosed. We know,

^s 1 Kings, vi. 3. Acts, iii. 11.

^h J. Cæsar, act 1. sc. 2.

that Augustus, after he had erected the Theatre of Marcellus, inclosed the two temples of Jupiter and Juno, which were very near, with a covered portico or colonnade, dedicating it to his sister Octavia. This served at once as an ornament to the temples, and as a place for the people to walk under and find shelter in going to or returning from the theatre.¹ The porticos were also used for more serious purposes in Rome. A library was attached to this of Octavia:^k and sometimes the senate was held in them, causes were tried, ambassadors received, marriage-contracts settled, &c. &c. Many articles also were exposed in them for sale. Accordingly we find notices of several porticos, such as that of Nasica, Pompey, Livia; the Portico of Concord, of Quirinus, of Hercules, &c. &c. There is a passage in Ovid, where allusion is made to this portico, and to that near the Theatre of Pompey.

Tu modo Pompeia tectus spatiare sub umbra,
Cum Sol Herculei terga Lebnis adit:
Aut ubi muneribus nati sua munera mater
Addidit, externo marmore dives opus.

Artis Amator. i. 67.

The row of pillars was double all the way round, and consisted of two hundred and seventy in all. Of these nothing remains but two pillars and two pilasters in one row supporting a pediment; and

¹ There is a portico of this kind, close to the two contiguous theatres at Pompeii.

^k Dio, lib. lxvi. Sueton. de Illust. Gramm. c. 21.

parallel to them two other pillars and one pilaster, of which the ground-plan would be this:



More of them probably exist, but blocked up with buildings, as is partly the case with these. They are Corinthian, of white marble, fluted, and seem to have formed the principal entrance to the temples. On the capital of the pilaster is an eagle with thunder. Vitruvius recommends, that a portico, such as this, with a double row of pillars, should have the outer ones Doric, and the inner Ionic or Corinthian. In the present case both are Corinthian.

From a passage in Velleius Paterculus¹ it appears, that these temples were surrounded with a portico before the one which Augustus built. He is speaking of Metellus, and says, "This was Metellus Macedonicus, who erected the porticos which surrounded the two temples without an inscription, which are now encompassed by the Porticos of Octavia." Arrian also tells us,^m that Metellus brought from the town of Dius, and placed in his portico, the twenty-one equestrian statues, which Lysippus had cast in bronze to commemorate those guards of Alexander, who had fallen at the battle

¹ Lib. i.

^m Lib. i. c. 17.

of the Granicus. Harduin, in his notes upon Pliny,^a mentions a silver coin, on which this portico is represented with the inscription Q. METELLVS PIVS.

A curious illustration of this antiquity is found in those fragments of the ichnography of Rome, which are now in the Museum of the Capitol. The names are fortunately preserved, and the whole is sufficiently entire to give us the relative position of the temples with respect to the portico, and the construction of the temples themselves. I made a rough copy of this fragment myself, and have since found it engraved in the work published by Bellori. It is from his book that the adjoined plate is copied, but with a few trifling alterations, which certainly make it more like the original. The pillars, which still remain, are probably some of those twelve, which are made larger than the rest in the plan, and which formed the entrance to the temples.

Pliny^o alludes to the two temples within the portico. His words are these, "In the Temple of Juno, within the Portico of Octavia, Polycles and Dionysius made the statue of the goddess: that of Jupiter, which is in the adjoining temple, was made by the sons of Timarchides." He also tells us, that the two temples were built by Saurus and Batrachus, architects of Sparta, who not being allowed to inscribe their names

^a Lib. xxxiv. c. 14.

^o Lib. xxxvi. c. 5.

It is a well-known fact that the Government of the United States has been very generous in its aid to the people of the world. The Government has been very generous in its aid to the people of the world. The Government has been very generous in its aid to the people of the world.

Journal of the American Medical Association Vol. 1, P. 180

1995) and the fact that the β values are not significantly different from zero (Table 1) suggest that the model is not misspecified. The β values are also not significantly different from zero, suggesting that the model is not misspecified.

CVS OCTAVIAE ET HE

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the asymptotic behavior of the solutions of the system (1) as $t \rightarrow \infty$. It is shown that the solutions of the system (1) tend to zero as $t \rightarrow \infty$ if and only if the matrix A is Hurwitz. This result is obtained by using the method of the variation of constants.

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ADIS. IOVIS

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AEDIS LYNNONIS

RECEIVED

Age Group	Percentage
18-24	10
25-34	35
35-44	25
45-54	15
55-64	10
65-74	5
75-84	2
85-94	1
95+	0

Journal of Management Studies, 19(1), 67-80.

... ..

1. *Chlorophyll a* and *Chlorophyll b* were determined by the method of Arar and Collins (1971) using a Shimadzu 1010 spectrophotometer.

like a T-antigen, the protein that

1. The first group of variables is the *demographic* group, which includes age, sex, and education. These variables are used to control for the effects of demographic factors on the dependent variable.

Journal of Management Studies, 1986, 23(1), 7-11

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upon the building,^p handed them down to posterity, by placing a lizard and a frog (the signification of their names) in the folds of the pillars, (*in columnarum spiris.*) Winkelmann interprets this to mean the volutes^q; and thinks, that he has discovered one of the actual pillars in the Basilica of S. Lorenzo, from which he infers, that these temples were of the Ionic order.^r Vitruvius does not agree with Pliny in making Saurus and Batrachus the builders of both temples; but makes that of Jupiter to have been built by Hermodorus, if his text is not corrupt. Perhaps the two Spartans mentioned by Pliny were employed upon the Temple of Juno. Vitruvius also tells us, that the Temple of Jupiter *Stator* (for he adds this epithet) was what is called *Peripteros*, that is, it had an open colonnade all round it, and the number of pillars on the two fronts and on the sides were in the proportion of six to eleven. The plan of it preserved in the Capitol does not represent it as such.

We learn from an inscription, which is still extant upon the frieze, that the building suffered

^p This is probably the meaning of Velleius in the passage quoted above, when he says, that the temples were without an inscription.

^q Vol. ii. p. 590.

^r In a French work, *Voyage d'un Français en Italie* (vol. iii. p. 330.) it is asserted, that there is a column with a frog and lizard upon it in the church of S. Eusebio, which stands between S. Maria Maggiore and the Porta S. Lorenzo. But I suspect a mistake.

by fire, and was restored by S. Severus and his son Caracalla. This, probably, was the second fire which had injured it, since Dio^a mentions it among the buildings which suffered from a great fire in the reign of Titus; and an ancient inscription was found not far off, importing that Hadrian had repaired the temples which had suffered by fire.

PILLAR OF TRAJAN.

This pillar was erected about the year of our Lord 115, in commemoration of Trajan's two Dacian campaigns. Dio Cassius says, that it was erected by Trajan himself before he went to the Parthian war; but, according to the inscription, it was the work of the senate and people of Rome, and when Trajan had the Tribunitian power for the seventeenth time, which is equivalent to the seventeenth year of his reign; and in this year Trajan was absent in the Parthian and Armenian wars. The words of Dio are, "that he built libraries, and placed a lofty column in his Forum, partly as a burial-place for himself, and partly to show to posterity the works which he had constructed round the Forum." We may perhaps reconcile the seeming contradiction, by supposing that Trajan had intended to erect such a column, and made a beginning, but the senate finished it. There is a coin extant, on one side of which is a head of Trajan, with this

^a Lib. lxvi.

inscription: IMP. CAES. NERVAE. TRAIANO. AVG. GERM. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. VI. P.P. On the reverse is the pillar, with a figure on the top of it, and S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO. PRINCIPI. S. C. In the course of this expedition he died, at Seleucia, of a dysenteric fever, in the nineteenth year of his reign, so that he never saw the column which was erected in honour of him. His ashes were brought home, and placed in a golden ball at the top of the pillar, which was a singular honour, on account of the custom which prohibited any burials within the walls. Some accounts place this golden ball in the hand of the statue which was at the top of the pillar; others say that it was deposited at the bottom;¹ but the coin, mentioned above, confirms the first of these accounts. The ball itself is said to be still preserved, and to be that which is seen on the milestone upon the balustrade of the Capitol, and which is on the left hand of a person ascending the steps.

A story is told by the Roman Catholics, that Gregory the Great having read an anecdote of this emperor's humanity, went to the column, and from thence entered a neighbouring church, where he prayed for Trajan's soul. An angel appeared to him, and assured him that the emperor's soul was secure in the care of his Creator; but to satisfy the Divine justice, Gregory himself was to suffer penance for it, either in this world or in the next. Gregory preferred

¹ Vide Cassiodor. Chron. Eutropius, lib. viii. c. 5.

the present life, and submitted to much penance for the soul of the Pagan emperor: Dante alludes to this in his *Purg.* x. 73.

Quivi era storiata l'alta Gloria
Del Roman Prince, lo cui gran valore
Mosse Gregorio all sua gran Vittoria.

The anecdote which urged Gregory to this pious act is also told here; and more may be found of the efficacy of his penance in *Parad.* xx. 45, &c. It may be mentioned, that the story rests principally upon the authority of an Englishman, John of Salisbury, who wrote in the twelfth century. But we may learn from Tiraboschi,^a that the reality of the vision is not an article of faith with the Catholics, since he ridicules it extremely.

The pillar stood in a magnificent Forum, which was also called after the name of Trajan. Apollodorus designed it; and within the circuit of it there was a palace, gymnasium, library, triumphal arch, porticos, &c. many of which were ornamented on the top with equestrian statues and military ensigns gilt.^x Gold coins are in existence, on the reverse of which this Forum is represented. Alexander Severus ornamented it with the statues of illustrious men;^y and the same custom was continued in the time of Arcadius and Honorius. These have all been destroyed, and nothing now remains but the pillar

^a Tom. iii. par. 1. p. 113, &c.

^x Vide A. Gell. lib. xiii. c. 24. Pausan. lib. v. c. 12.

^y Lamprid.

itself. Till the time of Sextus V. towards the end of the sixteenth century, the accumulation of soil about it was so great, that it rose even above the pedestal. An excavation was then made, and at present there is an area of an oval form round the pillar to a considerable extent. This was sunk to the level of the ancient Forum, and the whole seems formerly to have been flagged with marble. Several fragments of granite columns have also been brought to light, which are now placed in four parallel rows; but some of them have evidently been reversed, and the heights of them are very different. These probably belonged to the Ulpian Basilica, or Library, which was of great celebrity. In the middle of the square was an equestrian statue of Trajan, in bronze gilt. Ammianus Marcellinus tells us,² that when the Emperor Constans entered Rome, A.D. 356, "and came to the Forum of Trajan, a structure which I conceive to be unique in the world, and deserving the admiration even of celestial beings, he was struck with astonishment, casting his thoughts over its gigantic edifices, which it is impossible to describe, or for any mortals to imitate. Giving up, therefore, all hopes of attempting any thing similar, he said, that the only thing which he would or could imitate was the horse on which the emperor sat. Upon which Hormisdas, of the royal family of Persia, who was near him,

² Lib. xvi. c. 10.

"said, 'First order a stable to be built similar
 "to this, if you have the means: may the horse,
 "which you purpose forming, have as extensive
 "success as that which we are looking at!'"
 The destruction of this beautiful Forum certainly
 did not take place under Alaric or Genseric; for
 Cassiodorus, who wrote about the year 500, or a
 little after, says of it,^a "The Forum of Trajan is
 "a perfect miracle, if we inspect it even with the
 "utmost minuteness:" and he is here speaking
 of the most remarkable objects to be seen in the
 city.

The same architect, Apollodorus, also built
 the column. Eutropius^b and Cassiodorus call it
 one hundred and forty feet high; in which state-
 ment they seem to have included the statue also.
 P. Victor says one hundred and twenty-eight,
 which agrees with the measurement in modern
 Roman feet. This is about equal to one hundred
 and twenty-four English feet, and does not in-
 clude the statue. P. Victor is, however, wrong
 in the number of the steps and windows, making
 one hundred and eighty-five of the former, and
 forty-five of the latter; whereas there are one
 hundred and eighty-four steps, and forty-three
 windows or apertures for light. The base mea-
 sures twenty feet on each side; it is covered with
 trophies, and at each corner is an eagle, holding
 in his talons a wreath of oak, which extends from

^a Var. lib. vii. form. 6.

^b Lib. viii. c. 5. Some copies read cxliv.

one to the other. A laurel wreath surrounds the bottom of the shaft, as a Torus. According to Forsyth, this column presents a great mixture of orders. He describes the base and capital as Tuscan, the shaft as Doric, and the mouldings of the pedestal as Corinthian.

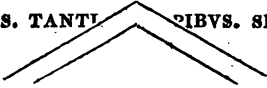
The shaft itself is covered with bas-reliefs, which go round the whole, from the bottom to the top, in twenty-three spirals. They represent the exploits of Trajan in both his Dacian expeditions. There are about two thousand five hundred figures in all; and that of Trajan is repeated more than fifty times. The figures are about two feet high in the lower part of the column, but towards the top they increase in size, that they may appear the same from below. The highest figures have nearly double the height of the lower ones, as have the spirals themselves. Only thirty-three separate pieces of marble are used in the whole work, of which eight are in the base, twenty-three in the shaft, one in the capital, and one above it. There is a spiral staircase within, which winds twelve times round, and contains, as stated above, one hundred and eighty-four steps; and this staircase is not a separate work, but is cut out of the same stones of which the shaft itself is composed.

A statue of Trajan formerly surmounted the whole, as may be proved from coins still extant. The head was also found in the rubbish at the bottom, and came into the possession of the Car-

dinal della Valle.^c The feet were standing in the time of Sextus V. It is conjectured, that the height of the statue was twenty-one feet. Bellori says eighteen. Sextus V. erected one in gilt bronze to St. Peter in 1587, which is eleven feet high.

The inscription on the base is as follows:

SENATVS. POPVLVSQVE. ROMANVS
IMP. CAES. DIVI. NERVAE. F
TRAIANO. AVG. GERM. DACICO. PONT
MAXIMO. TRIB. POT. XVII. IMP. VI. COS. VI. PP.
AD. DECLARARANDVM. QVANTAE. ALTITVDINIS
MONS. ET. LOCVS. TANTI. PIBVS. SIT. EGESTVS



In the last line some of the letters have been defaced by buildings erected against the pillar in the middle ages. TANTIS. OPERIBVS is the general conjecture; some have proposed RVDERIBVS, others EX. COLLIBVS, others OPIBVS. Fabretti argues, that we must read OPERIBVS, as there is only room to supply three letters. He is opposed by Lipsius,^d Gruterus,^e and others, who propose RVDERIBVS: but they probably never examined the pillar, as Fabretti did, to see the actual space which is defaced. This argument is perhaps sufficiently decisive; but Mabillon in his *Analecta*, p. 360, publishes a manuscript of the ninth century, from the convent at Einsidlen, in which,

^c Note of C. Fea to Winkelmann, lib. vi. c. 7.

^d De Magnitudine Romæ, lib. iii. c. 7.

^e P. 237.

OF TRAJAN.

among many other inscriptions on Rome is
ings, this is given, and OPERIBVS may be
read. Whatever the true reading may be
remains to prove the extraordinary fact
much soil was cut away to form this
equalled the height of the pillar. We
also from Dio Cassius, who says, that
ror dug through as much of the hill as
height of the column, and by that mea-
level for his Forum: It does not how-
that the Quirinal hill ever extended
the column: the work which Trajan
may have been in a different part of

The bas-reliefs have been engraved
scale, and published with a short
F. Alfonso Ciacono, Rome 1616.
interesting work, and enables us
inspection of the whole series of
editor entitles it, *An History of the
Wars*; and by comparing the ac-
historians with the sculptures on
able to illustrate both. Another
published by Fabretti at Rome, 1628,
tabula de Columna Trajani, with
criticism upon the work of Cia-
with learned remarks upon
subjects. He also published
historical illustrations of his
may see drawings of the whole
of Giulio Romano, now in the
Modena.

Trajan undertook his first
o 2

cia in the third year of his reign, A. D. 101. It lasted three years; and in the following year he celebrated his triumph, which is described in the bas-reliefs. The effect of the campaign was to make the enemy sue for peace. In the second expedition Trajan gained many victories, and Dacia was made a Roman province. King Decebalus killed himself, which is represented in the bas-reliefs, as is the bringing of his head and hands to Trajan. The year of the second triumph is not certain.

The Roman dress and manners may receive considerable light from these bas-reliefs. We find the soldiers constantly carrying their swords on the right side. On a march they are generally bare-headed: some have no helmets at all, others wear them suspended to their right shoulder. Some of them have lions' heads by way of a cap, with the mane hanging down behind. Each of them carry a stick over the left shoulder, which seems to have been for the purpose of conveying their provisions. We may observe a wallet, a vessel for wine, a machine for dressing meat, &c. We know, from other accounts, that they sometimes carried sixty pounds, and food for seventeen days: they never carried less than enough for three days. Their shields are oblong, with different devices upon them. The standards are of various kinds; such as a hand within a wreath of laurel, which was considered a sign of concord. Pictures also were used, which were portraits of gods or heroes. The soldiers wear upon

their legs a kind of tight pantaloons, reaching a little below the knee, and not buttoned. The Dacians have loose pantaloons reaching to the ankle, and shoes: they also carry curved swords: The Sarmatian cavalry, allies of Decebalus, wear plate-armour, covering the men and horses: These were called *Cataphracti*, or *Clibanarii*: and the words of Ammianus exactly answer the representation on the column: "Their armour" was a covering of thin circular plates, which "were adapted to the movements of the body," and drawn over all their limbs; so that in whatever direction they wished to move, their clothing "allowed them free play by the close fitting of its joints." To which we may add the lines of Claudian,

Conjuncta per artem

Flexilis inductis animatur lamina membris,

Horribilis visu. Credas simulacra moveri

Ferrea, cognatoque viros spirare metallo.

Par vestitus equis; ferrata fronte minantur,

Ferratosque levant securi vulneris armos.

In Rufinum, ii. 357.

Some Roman soldiers have also plate-armour; but they are archers. The horses have saddles, or rather cloths, which are fastened by cords round the breast and under the tail. The Dacian horses are without this covering; and the Germans, or some other allies, have neither saddles nor bridles to their horses.

^r Ammianus, lib. xvi. c. 10. Lamprid. Alex. Severus, 56.

Pluvius, in commemoration of the shower of rain, which came suddenly to the relief of the Roman army in their war with the Quadi, A. D. 174. The dispute which has arisen upon this story is well known. I shall therefore only mention in the notes the names of those authors who ascribe the miracle to the prayers of the Christians, and of those who simply mention the fact, without alluding to the Christians, in each case mentioning the time in which they lived.¹ The figure of Jupiter Pluvius may also be seen on a medal of Antoninus Pius; but he is there represented as pouring the rain out of one hand, and not from both his arms, as on the pillar. There is also a coin of M. Antoninus, on the reverse of which is a figure of Mercury holding a cup in his right hand; and we learn from Dio, that the emperor was used to attribute the shower of rain to Mercury.

¹ Letter of M. Aurelius at the end of Justin Mart. Ap. 1. c. but this is suspicious: a letter to this effect is quoted by Tertullian, Eusebius, Orosius, and Dio. Tertullian, (A. D. 200.) in Apologetico, c. 5.; and ad Scapulam, c. 4.; and de Oratione, c. 29. Cyprian. (248.) ad Demetr. Eusebius, (315.) Chron. et Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 5. Greg. Nyss. (370.) de Quadr. Mart. ii. Paulus Orosius, (400.) lib. vii. c. 9. These mention the prayers of the Christians. The following only detail the simple fact: Dio, (A. D. 220.) lib. lxxi. Jul. Capitol. (290.) in M. Aur. c. 24. Æl. Lamprid. (296.) in Heliogab. c. 9. Themist. (352.) Or. 15. Claudian (400.) de Sexto Cons. Honorii, 340; but he seems to have heard of the other account.

THE FORUM

The Forum is perhaps the object which Rome contains. We may lament the ruin of a temple, but our interest in the remains is frequently diminished, by our want of certainty to what building or because history has not at any peculiar recollections. From the hill of the Capitol, and from the Roman Forum, we content which we fancy ourselves have suddenly to have quitted the men. Not only is its form annihilated, but the ground is to any other purpose. When we find that many of the are buried under irregular heaps, imagination might fancy that the spot, forbidding it to ordinary occupations of inhabitants. What Virgil says of its Trojan settlers arrived, is present moment,

passim arce
Romanoque foro et la

Where the Roman people
perpetuate their exploits,
nobles vied with each other

of their dwellings, we now see a few insulated pillars standing amidst some broken arches: or, if the curiosity of foreigners has investigated what the natives neither think nor care about, we may perhaps see the remnant of a statue or a column extracted from the rubbish. Where the Comitia were held, where Cicero harangued, and where the triumphal processions passed, we have now no animated beings, except strangers attracted by curiosity, the convicts, who are employed in excavating as a punishment, and those more harmless animals already alluded to, who find a scanty pasture, and a shelter from the sun under a grove of trees. The Roman Forum is now called the *Campo Vaccino*.

If we look to the boundaries of this desolation, the prospect is equally mournful. At one end we have the hill of the Capitol, on the summit of which, instead of the Temple of Jupiter, the wonder of the world, we have the palace of the solitary senator. If we wish to ascend this eminence, we have on one side the most ancient structure in Rome, and that a prison: on the other the ruins of a temple, which seems to have been among the finest in the city, the name of which is not known. If we turn from the Capitol, we have on our right the Palatine hill, which once contained the whole Roman people, which was afterwards insufficient for the house of one emperor, and is now occupied by a few gardens and a convent. On the left there is a range of churches, formed out of ancient temples; and in

front, we discover, at a considerable distance, through the branches of trees and the ruins of buildings, the mouldering arches of the Colosseum.

If ever we could wish to meditate and to moralize upon the vicissitudes of human greatness, it would be here. I could well pardon the weakness of that mind, if it must be called weakness, which feels sorrow at such a scene. But I could neither envy the philosophy, nor pardon the selfishness of him, who, because nature has denied him a heart susceptible of such impressions, would extend the prohibition to all around him. When Marcellus wept as Syracuse was about to fall, and Marius surveyed the ruins of Carthage with the eyes not of a hero, but of a man, we surely do not think that human nature was degraded: but the sorrow of the one must have been increased by the thought, that so much splendor must shortly fall a sacrifice to his own glory: and when Marius saw his country's ancient rival in the dust, he must have felt that the same cause which sent him as an exile to the shores of Africa, might shortly level his own city to the fate of Carthage. Yet are we accustomed to admire the feelings both of Marcellus and of Marius. May we not then be allowed to sympathize with the mighty names which once graced the Roman Forum? May we not see in it a memorial, that whatever is great may be overthrown? and, what is more mortifying to human pride, that much which is overthrown may be

forgotten? Posthumous fame has such charms for some men, that they would consent to be overwhelmed, if they were certain that they would be talked of some thousand years after. But ambition would find poor encouragement in the ruins of the Forum, where so much greatness lies doubly buried; and though some fragments may occasionally be brought to light from the soil which covers them, yet the revolution of ages has consigned their history to oblivion, and they serve only to excite the ingenuity or the jealousy of antiquaries.

But we must turn from these meditations to a detail of the melancholy scene. If a line be drawn in one direction from the Arch of Septimius Severus to the Church della Consolazione, and from the same arch to the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, or from the Temple of Jupiter Tonans to that of Jupiter Stator, we shall have some notion of the length and breadth of the Forum. Vitruvius tells us,^k that the Roman plan was different from that of the Greeks. With the latter the Forum was in the form of a square;^l with the Romans it was an oblong, the breadth being about two-thirds of the length. If we take the boundaries given above, the length of the

^k Lib. v. c. 1.

^l Contrary to this rule, we find the Forum at Pompeii, which was a Greek town, oblong. If the antiquaries have not been mistaken in applying the name, we must suppose, that this Forum had been rebuilt after the Romans were in possession. In fact, some alteration seems to have been going on at the time of the destruction.

FORUM.

Roman Forum was 705 feet, th
Within the walls of Rome there w
spaces, which obtained the name o
as the Boarium, that of Cæsar, 1
&c., and P. Victor enumerates sixt
the Forum Romanum obtained
more particular manner, and when
ply of the Forum, it is this which
understood to mean.

If we wish to know what buil
objects the area of it contained, v
history. The place itself will affi
formation. Some light may perh
upon the subject, if the excava
tinued; but the surface is at pre
more unsightly by the hillocks of
thrown up in all directions, and
main.^m We must naturally supp
open space was left for public m
ordinary occupation of a market p
were also buildings of various de
for use and ornament. Beside te
and arches, we read of shops and
seem to have surrounded the w
care of Romulus and Tatius was
removing the trees which grew t
ing off the water, which flowed i
ral receptacle from the surround

^m I am informed that these hillocks ha

ⁿ Dion. Hal. lib. ii.

Tarquinius Priscus parcelled out certain portions of it, where private individuals might build; and during his reign shops and porticoes were constructed. We learn from Vitruvius, that by the term portico we are not to understand a mere open colonnade, for the purpose of walking under, but places in which there were shops, (he mentions particularly those of silversmiths or bankers [*argentarii*],) and that there were apartments over them.^o Perhaps the Palais Royal at Paris, or St. Mark's Place at Venice, may give us a good notion how the walks and shops were constructed on the sides. The middle of it was by no means free from buildings, as we read of streets passing through it, which would imply, that part of it was covered with houses, leaving a passage for the people to pass. The Via Sacra entered the Forum near the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, passing, as is supposed, under an arch, called that of Fabius.^p The name, however, does not seem to have been lost when it reached the Forum; and perhaps the Via Sacra was rather an expression for the whole line of streets, through which the triumphal processions passed from the Arch of Constantine to the Capitol, than any one particular street which bore that name. It certainly was not in a straight

^o Lib. v. c. 1.

^p Cic. pro Cn. Plancio, 7. Treb. Pollio, Salon. Gallienus, 1.

line; but after it had passed Titus, it went in a slanting line to the Temple of Peace, and finished at the house of Fabius. Whatever was the case, whether there were more or whether the greater space, we find, that some luxury was practised of course. Caesar spread them over the Forum, and the whole of the Via Sacra from his house to the Clivus Capitolinus during his dictatorship, and he amused the people with games, when no spectacles were given, merely with a view to make them forgetful of those who were engaged in the war, for those who were engaged to learn from Dio,^s that the games were made of silk.

It is not my intention to give the writers a description of the Forum, but to ornamented the Forum, but to in existence. We read of Augustus, to Castor and Pollux, other divinities; but an inscription which they probably held in their hands, and height of their columns, and never can lead to error, of the Rostra, the Comitium

^q Plin. lib. xix. c. 6.

^s Lib. xliii.

other objects, is equally uncertain; and though much might be said as to the use which was made of them, and the facts connected with their history, yet in treating of the monuments still existing in Rome, we must omit such subjects, as not forming part of our plan.

We have very little remaining within the actual verge of the Forum. The three pillars, which stand at the foot of the Palatine Hill, are commonly ascribed to the Temple of Jupiter Stator; others have given them to the Temple of Vulcan, and some persons, of late, have been inclined to see in them a part of the Comitium. Ovid certainly mentions the Temple of Jupiter Stator as being in front of the Palatine Hill: *ante Palatini ora jugi*.^{*} Though only three columns remain, supporting a small portion of the frieze and cornice, yet there is nothing in Rome so much calculated to inspire us with an idea of the magnificence of ancient architecture. They are of white marble, of the Corinthian order, and are the largest fluted columns in Rome. Desgodetz gives their height, in the French measure, as forty-five feet three inches, and seven lines. The flutings are one Roman palm across, about 8½ inches English.[†]

^{*} Fast. lib. vi. 794. Trist. lib. iii. 1, 32.

[†] The flutings of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Girgenti (Agrigentum) are two palms (17½ inches) across, which confirms the remark of Diodorus Siculus, (lib. xiii.) that a man could stand in the flutings.

It might be conjectured, that this temple had been used to destroy the blocks, of which the shafts are composed out of their places, so as actually received a violent wrench, and destroyed them out of the pillars of the Temple of the Parthenon and Propylaea at Athens. The Temple of the Parthenon and Propylaea at Athens, which led to the south side of the front, and thirteen on each of the eight sides of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, have been converted into the Church of S. Andrea. This formed nearly the north side of the Forum. The inscription still remains:

DIVO. ANTONINO. ET
DIVAE. FAUSTINAE. EX. S. C.

But it has been disputed whether we understand by these persons, Antoninus Pius and his wife Faustina, or M. Antoninus and L. Verus.

* Evagrius describes the great earthquake at Antioch, in the year 539, to have twisted the stones of some pinnacles this way. Lib. vi. c. 8.

† Williams's Travels, vol. ii. p. 312.

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who was also called Faustina. Nibby decides in favour of the two last, which perhaps agrees best with the words of J. Capitolinus, who mentions divine honours being paid to both these ladies. A considerable portion of the ancient building is preserved; but the principal part is the portico of ten columns, six in front and two on each side. They are Corinthian, and of the marble which is called *Cipollino* by the Italians, from its laminar composition resembling *onions*. It was anciently termed Carystian, from Cape Carystos in Eubœa. The bases and capitals are of white marble. Their whole height is sixty-three palms. The form of the temple was oblong; and it was not *peripteros*, or surrounded with an open colonnade, so that there probably never were more than these ten pillars, unless there were some at the other end. All the cornice of the front has disappeared, as have the shafts of the pilasters at the sides; but some ornaments in the frieze, consisting of griffins and candelabra, are still tolerably perfect. The portico was buried to more than half the height of the pillars; but they are now laid open to the bases, so that the whole may be seen; but they do not present any great appearance of beauty, as the marble, of which they are formed, is a very indifferent sort. There was also a flight of twenty-one steps, which formed the approach to the temple from the Via Sacra.

To speak correctly, these are all the ancient remains which belonged to the Forum: but there

are other buildings *not far off*, which may properly be mentioned in *this place*. Before we quit the verge of the Forum, we ought however to say something of the pillar of Phocas, which undoubtedly stood within it. It is only within a very few years, that any thing was known for certain respecting this column. The whole of the base and part of the shaft was buried; and the ingenuity of antiquaries was greatly exercised to give it a name. L. Fauno conjectured it to have been that of Duilius; and others had ascribed it to the temple of Jupiter Custos; others to the Bridge of Caligula. The Duchess of Devonshire has the merit of having had an excavation made round it in 1813, at which time an inscription was discovered upon the base, from which we learn, that a gilt statue was placed on the top of it in 608, to the Emperor Phocas, by Smaragdus, Exarch of Italy. As the inscription cannot yet have made its way into many books of travels, I have given it at length.* It is singular, that the name of Phocas himself has been erased, probably by his successor Heraclius, who deposed and murdered Phocas, A.D. 610. Other words also are obliterated, which I have marked by a line under them.

* It is to be found in "Lettere sopra la Colonna dell' Imperatore Foça, da Filippo Aurelio Visconti, Roma, 1813;" Mr. Hobhouse's Illustrations to the Fourth Canto of Childe Harold; and Nibby's Work upon the Roman Forum, as well as in his notes to Nardini.

OPTIMO CLEMENTIS, FELICISSIMOQUE
 PRINCIPI DOMINO N. PHOCAE IMPERATORI
 PERPETVO A DO. CORONATO TRIUMPHATORI
 SEMPER AVGVSTO
 SMARAGDVS EX PRAEPOS SACRI PALATII
 AC PATRICIVS ET EXARCHVS ITALIAE
 DEVOTVS EIVS CLEMENTIAE
 PRO INNVMERABILIVS PIETATIS EIVS
 BENEFICIIS ET PRO QUIETE

PROCVRATA ITAL. AC CONSERVATA LIBERTATE

HANC STATVAM PIETATIS EIVS

AVRI SPLENDORE MICANTEM HVIC

SVBLIMI COLUMNAE AD PERENNEM

IPSIVS GLORIAM IMPOSVIT AC DICAVIT

DIE PRIMA MENSIS AVGVST. INDICT. VND

PC PIETATIS EIVS ANNO QVINTO.*

We may be surprised to read so flattering a tribute to so execrable a tyrant. Gregory the Great, who was then pope, has also made honourable mention of him in his Epistles, which gives Gibbon occasion to say,^b that “the joyful applause, with which he salutes the fortune of the assassin, has sullied with indelible disgrace the character of the saint.” But we should remember, (which Gibbon does not mention,) that his enormities had been confined to the east.

* I have given the inscription, as supplied by Visconti. Nibby reads in the first line PISSIMOQUE, in the eleventh MAESTATIS, and in the twelfth FVLGENTEM.

^b Decline and Fall, c. 46.

empire, whereas Italy seems by him. He wrote to the orthodox confession of the supremacy of the Romish the Roman churches, and to be converted to Christianity must have been extremely the seventh century, and the tenth ought to make some feelings.

Marlianus, who wrote in says, that some letters were one side of the plinth, but that nothing could be made Corinthian, of Greek made three palms (forty-six feet) stands upon a pyramid of probably much older than. A pillar was erected in the Claudius, who succeeded. The statue, which is stated to have possibly have a summit, may possibly have a lapse of four centuries and more. The inscription only of the statue.

On the declivity of the from this column, are the said to have belonged to Tonans. It is known from erected such a temple.

Treb. Pollio, Claud. 3.

Capitol; upon occasion of one of the servants, who was preceding his litter, being struck with lightning; but what is the evidence for identifying it with these remains, I do not know. The building of Augustus was restored by S. Severus and Caracalla; and as we still read *ESTITVER* upon the frieze, this certainly may be the same. The Temple of Jupiter Tonans was standing in the time of Honorius.* The pillars were till lately buried almost up to the capitals, but are now laid open to the bottom. They are of great size, being six palms (four feet four inches) in diameter, of white marble, Corinthian and fluted. Upon the lateral frieze there are several ornaments connected with sacrifices; such as the *Albogalerus*, or cap, which the Flamen Dialis wore; the *Seces-pita*, or iron knife, with an ivory handle, used by the same priest; the *Capedunculus*, or dish; an axe, a hammer, the *aquiminarium*, or jug; the *aspersorium*, or instrument for sprinkling the lustral water: all of them used in the rites of Jupiter,^f which may be another argument, that these remains are rightly named. There is a coin of Augustus, on the reverse of which is a portico with six pillars. The two middle ones are wider apart than the rest; and between them is a figure of Jupiter with the letters *IOV. TON.* According to Nibby there were six pillars in front, eight on

* Claudian de VI. Cons. Honor. 44.

^f There is a coin, which has on one side an elephant and CAESAR; on the reverse four of these sacred instruments.

each of the sides, and four more in the Pronaos, in all twenty-four: but he probably was not aware, that Vitruvius says, that the Temple of Jupiter Tonans had a portico of thirty columns.

Not far from these remains are eight other pillars, which are commonly said to belong to the Temple of Concord. Six of them are in front; the other two behind. On the architrave we read,

SENATVS. POPVLVSQVE. ROMANVS
INCENDIO. CONSVMPITVM. RESTITVIT

Scarcely any thing remains above the architrave: all that exists is of brick; and there are arches in it over the intercolumniations. We may regret the destruction of this temple more particularly, because at no very distant period it was nearly perfect, and was wantonly destroyed. Poggio, who wrote in the beginning of the fifteenth century, tells us, that the whole of the temple, with part of the portico, was burnt to make lime; and that the pillars were thrown down after he came to Rome. Andrea Fulvio relates the same story; and this may perhaps furnish us with too true an insight into the cause of so many majestic edifices having entirely disappeared. When this temple was restored, after the fire, it was probably done in haste, and materials were employed in it which belonged to different buildings: for it has been observed, that neither the diameters of the pillars nor the intercolumniations are equal. One of them has evidently been made up of fragments of two different pillars, so that the diameter is greater

near the summit than it is in the middle. The two angular columns alone have pinnas, and the bases are composed of Doric and Ionic mixed. They are of granite, and all of one piece, fifty-nine palms (forty-three feet three inches) high: the bases and capitals are of white marble.

Now that it is so much the fashion with the Roman antiquaries to call into dispute the names which have been given to ancient buildings, the Temple of Concord has been obliged to change its title, and it is conjectured to have been a Temple of Fortune. This goddess was certainly worshipped near this spot, as appears from some verses at Praeneste, in the Palazzo Baronale:

Tu quæ Tarpeio coleris vicina Tonanti,
Votorum vindex semper Fortuna meorum.

We know also from Zosimus,* that the Temple of Fortune was burnt in the time of Maxentius; and any repair made afterwards would be likely to be in bad taste, as this certainly was. So that it is by no means improbable that we should be justified in altering the appellation of these remains: though there certainly was a Temple of Concord not far from this spot, erected first by Camillus, and restored or rebuilt by Tiberius; and an excavation, made in 1817, has clearly proved it to have stood more to the north, very near to the modern ascent to the Capitol. The

* Lib. ii. c. 13.

^b Ovid. Fast. lib. i. 637, &c. Sueton. Tib. c. 20.

Celli was discovered, and some inscriptions with the word *contemplata*.

Part of the Church of S. Cosmo and Damiano is ancient. It was perhaps not actually in the verge of the Forum, but near to it. The round vestibularis generally said to have belonged to a Temple of Remus; but others have called it a Temple of Quirinus. Livy mentions one having been erected by Papirius in 460 U.C. and this may have been the Temple of Quirinus, which was burnt in 703, and restored by Augustus; but it is stated to have had seventy-six columns attached to it; which presents a greater idea of magnificence than seems to have belonged to this small Vestibule. Nibby thinks that the round part is not older than the time of Diocletian. It was converted to the purpose of a Christian church by S. Felix IV. in 530; repaired in 689 by Sergius I.; and again in 780 by Adrian I., who added the bronze doors. Its present appearance however is very different from what it was during those periods: for the church being found extremely damp, on account of the great accumulation of soil outside, Urban VIII. raised the level of it, so that the present floor is about twenty feet higher than that of the ancient tem-

These saints are said to have been placed upon a pile to be burnt, but the fire spared them, and consumed the executioners. There is an altar-piece in the Church of S. Giovanni di Fiorentini representing this story, and it is the only altar-piece in Rome painted by Salvator Rosa.

* Lib. x. c. 46.

ple; and its doors of bronze, with the two pillars of porphyry, were formerly much lower down than they are now. The original level may be seen by descending some steps near the altar. There is a curious echo in the vestibule.

Close to this church are some of the most remarkable remains in Rome, which till lately were always said to have belonged to the Temple of Peace. Good reasons, however, are given for making us believe that this name has been wrongly applied. It is certain, from Suetonius and from Josephus, that Vespasian erected a magnificent temple near the Forum, and consecrated it to Peace.¹ But we also learn from Herodian, that the whole of it was consumed by fire in the reign of Commodus. Præcopius tells us, that the ruins were lying on the ground in his time; nor is it likely that it was rebuilt subsequently: so that we can hardly imagine the present remains to belong to the building erected by Vespasian. It is more difficult to decide what we ought to call it. Nibby thinks that it is the Basilica of Constantine; and the existing remains certainly seem to have belonged to a Basilica rather than to a Temple. They are in bad taste, and not unlike the other edifices of the age of Constantine. A small portion only of the original building remains; but the parts of it are on a prodigious scale. It consists of

¹ Du Choul, in his *Veterum Romanorum Religio*, p. 6, has raved two coins, which represent the Temple of Peace.

three very large arches, each about seventy-five feet across. We should consider these in the present day as a side aisle, or as three lateral chapels. The rest of the building has disappeared; but the plan may be made out, and it seems to have consisted of a nave, with an aisle on each side: these were divided from each other by eight pillars of white marble, four of which stood against the piers which divide these arches. One of them may still be seen in Rome, it being that very beautiful pillar which stands in front of St. Maria Maggiore. It was removed from its original place by Paul V. and measures sixty-four palms (forty-seven feet) in height. Nothing gives us a greater idea of the splendor of the structure, than the vast and elegant proportions of this column: and if we are really to assign the building to the days of Constantine, we must suppose, that the eight pillars came from some edifice which had been erected at an earlier period. The middle arch of the three is recessed farther back; and each of the others has two rows of windows, with three in each row. The ceiling of all of them was ornamented with stucco, much of which still remains. It is calculated that the whole length of the temple was 326 feet, and the width 220. Recent excavations have proved the entrance to have been on the side facing Mount Aventine.

Beyond this are the ruins of the Temple of Venus and Rome. We see here two chapels, joining each other by the semicircular tribunes; and this is all that now remains, though when

the building was entire it was extremely magnificent. This temple had the singular honour of having an emperor for its architect; as Hadrian himself, who was fond of this study, drew out a plan of it, and submitted it to Apollodorus, who had distinguished himself so much in the reign of Trajan, by building the Forum of that emperor, and the bridge over the Danube. Hadrian was fond of all the fine arts, and fancied himself a great proficient in them. We know that he amused himself with painting and sculpture; and Aurelius Victor is complaisant enough to compare him to Polyclætus and Euphranor. Apollodorus had reason to lament his having an emperor for a rival; for as he was not so good a courtier as Aurelius Victor, he did not much praise his master's taste in the plan of this temple; and having offended him by a former expression of his opinion, for which he was at this time living in exile, he was punished with death. The temple was surrounded by a portico, and the whole length was 750 palms, (536 feet,) the width 437 palms, (321 feet.) Prudentius also mentions it.

*At sacram resonare viam mugitibus ante
Delubrum Romæ, colitur nam sanguine et ipsa
More Deæ, nomenque loci, cœn nūmen habetur;
Atque Urbis Venerisque pari se culmine tollunt
Templa: simul geminis adolentur thura Deabus.*

Contr. Sym. l. 216.

It may be seen on coins of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. The people of Smyrna were the first who erected a temple to Rome, U. C. 559. Some antiquaries have preferred calling these ruins the Temple of the Sun and Moon, or of Isis and Serapis.

Between the Forum Romanum and that of Trajan there were two others, those of Augustus and of Nerva. The latter was begun by Domitian, and finished by Nerva; and from its communicating with the two others was called Transitorium, or Pervium. Part of the wall, which bounded this, still remains, of a great height, and about 144 paces long. It is composed of square masses of freestone, very large, without any cement, and it is extraordinary, that it is not carried in a straight line, but makes three or four angles, as if some buildings had interfered with its direction. There is an arch in it called L'Arc de Pantani, and this also is irregularly built, as the sides of it are not at right angles, but oblique. It seems to be at least half buried by the accumulation of soil.

Close to this arch are some remains of the temple erected in honour of Nerva, by Trajan. Others have called it the temple erected to *Mars Ultor* by Augustus, in consequence of a vow, which he made in the campaign against Brutus and Cassius. Venuti says that there was formerly this inscription on the architrave:

IMP. NERVA. CAESAR. AVG. PONTIF
MAX. TRIB. POT. II. IMP. II. PROCOS

Pliny mentions a temple to Nerva in his Panegyric, and it is said to have been one of the most magnificent in Rome. At present nothing remains but three pillars and a pilaster of the Portico, which looked toward the Forum Romanum. These pillars are Corinthian, of Parian marble, fifty-four feet and a half high. The architrave, which is supported by them, is handsomely ornamented. The monastery of the Nunziatina is built immediately behind these pillars, and a high brick tower belonging to it rises over them.

Not far from this, and nearer to the Forum Romanum, is a still more beautiful fragment, consisting of two columns supporting a magnificent architrave, which are supposed to have belonged to a Temple of Minerva. The pillars are Corinthian, eleven feet in circumference, and calculated to be thirty-one in height, but more than half of them is buried. The frieze is very rich, containing bas-reliefs characteristic of Minerva, of very good workmanship. Above this is an attic story, which has suffered considerably, but a figure of Minerva in the middle of it is tolerably perfect. This may be the temple mentioned by Pliny,^o "when the Forum was dedicated, which " is called *Pervium*, in which a loftier and more " magnificent temple is erected to Minerva."

^o Lib. vii. c. 26.

TRIUMPHAL ARCHES.

Pliny calls the *Triumphal Arch* a new invention; not that such arches were unknown before the time of *Vespasian*, but because they were of much meaner materials and unornamented. *Romulus* is said to have had one of brick; and *Blondus*, an antiquary of the fifteenth century, says, that the remains of it fell down in his time. It is known that an Arch of *Fabius*, who defeated the *Allobroges*, stood at that angle of the Forum where the *Via Sacra* entered it. All those which still remain, or of which the situations are known, were placed in the way, along which the triumphal processions passed to the Capitol.^p It seems probable, however, that sometimes temporary arches were erected during the triumph, and the more durable ones afterwards.^q

ARCH OF JANUS.

This, which is the most ancient now remaining, was probably not a *Triumphal Arch*. It is the only one of the kind in Rome, and perhaps ought to be called simply a *Janus*, for this was the name

^p A writer in the *Quarterly Review*, (vol. xxviii. p. 324,) gives as a reason for doubting this assertion, that triumphal arches are to be found at *Susa* and *Aoste*. This is quite true; and I beg to assure the Reviewer, that I really did not conceive the triumphal processions in Rome to have passed by *Susa* and *Aoste*.

^q Vide *Claudian. de VI Cons. Honor.* 521.

of all those arches which had passages through them both ways; that is, where there were two arches cutting each other at right angles. Thus, Suetonius says of Domitian, "He erected a great many Jani, and arches with ears and triumphal insignia, in different quarters of the city." The Temple of Janus itself was probably on this plan. The first was built by Numa. Plutarch calls it, *νῆος διθύκος*, a two-gated temple; and Servius has the following passage, at *En. vii. 607*. "Numa Pompilius erected the sanctuary, (the Temple of Janus,) near the bottom of the Argiletus, by the Theatre of Marcellus: it consisted of two very small temples. There were two, on account of Janus having two faces. Afterwards, when Falerii, a Tuscan city, was taken, an image of Janus with four fronts was found; in consequence of which, that which Numa had finished was removed to the Forum Transitorium, and one temple was built with four gates." The words of Servius seem to show, that the building erected by Numa was not far from the present Arch of Janus. It is ornamented with twelve niches on each side; and on the east and west they are all deep enough to have contained statues. On the other sides, only four are of that depth. Varro says, that Janus had twelve altars dedicated to him, one for each month of the year. Some have imagined,

C. 13. Vide Ovid. *Fast.* lib. i. 257.

* Liv. lib. i. c. 19.

Lib. iv.

that the twelve niches on each side of this arch relate to this custom; and appeal to the etymology of *Janus*, which they say is synonymous with *Temus*.

Not much is known as to the date or purpose of this arch. There is reason to believe that it was made use of by the bankers and money-changers; and Horace alludes to this, or a similar building, when he says,

*postquam omnis res mea Janum
Ad medium fracta est.* Sat. ii. 3, 13.

*Virtus post nummos. Hæc Janus summus ab imo
Perlocet.* Epist. i. 1, 54.

The Greek marble, of which it is built, brings the date down to the end of the Republic, as this material did not begin to be used till that time. Each side is seventy-seven feet long. The lower part has only been lately brought to light from the soil, which had accumulated round it. The brickwork at the top is the work of the middle ages, when it was fortified by the Frangipani family. Much of the demolition of the ancient buildings in Rome is to be attributed to the dissensions of great families, on which occasions these relics were seized upon, as places of defence. During the residence of the Popes at Avignon, in the fourteenth century, the Colonna and Orsini families contributed not a little to this destruction.

The spot on which the arch stands forcibly

reminds us of former times; no where in Rome is there a greater appearance of desolation and decay. The ground points out, by its irregular surface, that many buildings are buried under it. The Cloaca Maxima may be seen close by, passing under the stupendous arch which covers it; other water also flows into it, which occasionally inundates the arch itself, and which probably formed the Lake of Juturna. That there was always water in this neighbourhood, we learn from several passages in ancient authors. Tibullus, lib. ii. el. 5.

At qua Velabri regio patet, ire solebat

Exiguus pulsa per vada liater aqua.

Ovid, Fast. vi. 405.

Qua Velabra solent in Circum ducere pompas,

Nil præter salices crassaque canna fuit.

Even the ancient name of Velabrum, is preserved in the Church of S. Georgio in Velabro, which is not far off.

I am not aware of any other church in Rome being dedicated to this saint; and since his name is become so popular in England, a little digression may be allowed as to his history. The sarcastic remark of Gibbon will be familiar to most readers, that "the infamous George of Cappadocia, has been transformed into the renowned St. George of England, the patron of arms, of chivalry, and of the garter." This transformation, as Gibbon himself acknowledges in a note,

is not absolutely certain; but it suited his purpose to assert it in the text. The Roman Catholics positively deny it; and apparently upon good grounds. George of Cappadocia, was an Arian, and set up by the Arians as Patriarch of Alexandria, in opposition to Athanasius; he was put to death by the populace, in the reign of Julian, A. D. 361; and the authentic accounts* which we have of his life, make it as improbable that his real history should be forgotten, as that the great opponent of the Catholics should be converted into a Catholic Saint. It is therefore asserted, that the person who obtained such distinguished worship in the east, was wholly different from the George of Cappadocia. A church was erected to him as early as in the reign of Justinian; and the church, which led to this digression, is said to be as old as the fourth century, or more probably the eighth. Clotilda, the wife of Clovis, dedicated an altar to him, in France, at the end of the fifth century. He is said to have suffered martyrdom in the reign of Carinus or Diocletian. His name soon became as celebrated in the west as in the east; but I have not been able to discover what gave him the rank of tutelary saint in England. Gibbon says, that it is to be traced to the Crusades. As for the pictures, which represent him combating a dragon in defence of a virgin, they

* Gibbon refers us to Ammianus, xxii. 11. Greg. Naz. Ora. 21. Epiphanius, Hæres. 76.

are undoubtedly ancient; and Baronius tells us, that they contain an allegorical description of his rescuing provinces and cities, which were in distress; and his subduing the arts of the devil. The spurious Acts of St. George transform Alexandria into a princess, and Athanasius into a magician. But we must return from this digression.

ARCH OF DRUSUS.

If the arch, which stands a little within the Porta S. Sebastiano, is properly ascribed to Nero Claudius Drusus, father of the Emperor Claudius, this is the oldest triumphal arch in Rome; but, at the time of its erection, it was beyond the circuit of the walls. It is always called *l'Arco di Druso*; and we learn from Suetonius, that an arch of marble was erected to Drusus in the Appian way, which agrees with the situation of the arch in question. There are also coins of Claudius, on which we find an arch similar to this; and P. Victor and S. Rufus place an Arch of Drusus in the region of the Porta Capena. Some antiquaries, on the other hand, have supposed that it was built by Caradalla, for the purpose of conveying the Aqua Marcia to his baths; and as there is a channel for water on the top, and remains of other

¹ Eusebius mentions a picture of Constantine with a dragon, transfixed, under his feet. *Vita Const. lib. iii. c. 30.*

² Claud. c. 1. *De Cons. lib. i. c. 1.*

arches, may be observed in a line with this; the conjecture is not without good foundations. But, we shall probably arrive at the truth, by uniting the two opinions. The arch may have been erected in commemoration of the Triumph of Drusus, and it may subsequently have been made use of to carry on the line of an aquaduct. Its architecture presents no particular beauty. It consists of only one archway; and on the side facing the gate, there are two pillars of African or Chian marble of the Composite order. The coin, mentioned above, represents four such pillars on one side, and an equestrian statue, with two trophies, on the top.

ARCH OF TITUS.

This stands at the foot of the Palatine Hill, on the road leading from the Colosseum to the Forum. It is reckoned one of the most beautiful models of architecture which remain, though it has suffered more than some of the other arches; nor was it so large, consisting only of one archway. The white marble, with which the whole is cased, is become quite black with age. It is generally quoted as being the most ancient building in which the Composite order is found; but

* Since the first edition of this work appeared, the Arch of Titus has been taken down, and put up again. The parts which were lost have been restored in Travertine stone.

we have already observed it upon the Arch of Drusus; and Pocock, in his Travels,^b mentions a temple at Melasso, (anciently Mylasa,) in Caria, where the six pillars of the portico are Composite. His engraving clearly represents them as such; and since the temple was built in honour of Augustus and Rome, as is proved by the inscription still remaining, we have here an earlier specimen than the Arch of Titus, by upwards of half a century. If the Composite is rightly called the Roman order, it is singular that the earliest known specimen of it should be in a Greek city; and we may remark, as a singular circumstance, its not being found in the Colosseum, also built by Titus, which consists of four stories, and where the three first are successively Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. It might have been expected, that the fourth would have been Composite, in order to continue the variety, but this also is Corinthian, as well as the one below it. It should be mentioned, however, that when we speak of the Composite order, we are using a term not recognised by the ancients. Vitruvius does not make a fifth order of it, and only notices the variety in the capital, which he says is composed of the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. The shaft and other parts are not characterized by him as having any thing peculiar; and, in the same way, he considers the Corinthian capital as made up of the Doric and Ionic. Serlio

^b Vol. ii. p. 61.

is the first writer who treats of the Composite as a fifth order, and he founds his remarks upon this arch, the two of Septimius Severus, the Baths of Diocletian, Temple of Bacchus, &c.

This arch was erected by the senate and people of Rome to commemorate the triumph which followed the taking of Jerusalem by Titus. The inscription is briefly this,

SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS
DIVO TITO DIVI VESPASIANI F
VESPASIANO AVGVSTO

From the epithet of *Divus*, applied to Titus, we learn, that it was not erected till after his death: which is also proved by the Apotheosis of the emperor, represented on the roof of the arch, under the figure of a man sitting upon an eagle. This inscription is on the side facing the Colosseum. On the opposite front, the attic and cornice are completely defaced; and the base of one of the pillars is the only ornament remaining on that side: the following inscription is stated to have been found not far off, and may possibly have stood upon this side. In that case we should learn something more certain as to the time of the arch being erected.

By L. Fauno, lib. ii. c. 19: but it is given more correctly by Gruter, p. ccciv. n. 6. Gruter, however, did not know where it was to be found. Scaliger suspected it to be a forgery of Onufrio Panvinio.

IMP. TITO CAESARI. DIVI VESPASIANI FIO-
 VESPASIANO. AVG. PONTIFICI. MAXIMO
 TRIB. POT. R. IMP. XVII. COS. VII. P. P. QUOD
 PRINCIP. SVO. S. P. Q. R. A
 QVOD. PRAECEPTIS. PATRIS. CONSILIISQVE. ET
 AVSTICIIS. GENTEM. IVDAEORVM. DOMUIT. ET
 VRBEM. HIEROSOLYMAM. OMNIBVS. ANTE. SE.
 DVCEBVS. REGIBVS. GENTIBVSQVE. AVT. EVETHA-
 PETITAM. AVT. OMNINO. INTENTATAM. DELEVIT.

Some of the vessels, which belonged to the Temple at Jerusalem, and which were carried in the triumphal procession, appear in the bas-reliefs on the interior sides of the arch. There is also the emperor himself in a car, drawn by four horses, attended by senators, crowned with laurel.

A Dissertation was written upon these bas-reliefs by Reland, intitled, "De Spoliis Templi Hierosolymitani in Arcu Titiano, Traj. Tad Rhen. 1716," in which are given engravings of the Arch, and the figures carved upon it. The treatise is full of Rabbinical learning, and may be interesting to the admirers of that study; but I shall only select from it a few remarks, which relate immediately to the sculptures upon the Arch.

Josephus^a says, that the golden table, golden candlestick, the book of the law, and other spoils, were carried in the triumph. Those which can

^a De Bello Jud. lib. vii. c. 5.

be recognised upon the Arch are the candlestick, the table, the vessel of incense, and two trumpets. Reland tells us that he employed Anthony Twyman, an Englishman, to measure the bas-reliefs for him, and that the candlestick, including the base, was two feet nine inches (English) in height. The breadth of the base and of the branches at top is exactly the same, each being two feet. This however can of course give us no measure of the height of the candlestick itself. We may observe, that all the branches rise to the same height, so as to form a straight line at top; and the two exterior branches are not similar in their ornaments. With respect to these ornaments, and the form of the candlestick itself, descriptions are to be found in Rabbinical writings: it is also represented in some ancient gems, and upon a lamp, engravings of which may be seen in Reland's work. The account, with which we are most familiar, is that given in Exodus xxy. 31—36. We there find mention of three different ornaments, bowls, knops, and flowers. Josephus describes them thus; *ὑποθήκας δὲ ὑπερῶς καὶ ἁγῶν, αὐτὰς ποταμούς, καὶ ἀγνὰς ἰσίδον, ἀνθὺς δὲ τὰς ἁγῶν.* In this passage the *ἁγῶν* are what our translators have called flowers; and in the Septuagint they are also called *ἁγῶν*. The *ὑπερῶς* are the cups, or bowls, and the *ποταμοί* are the knops, called by the Septuagint *αἰσινάριες*. Reland calls the

latter, *mala*, apples; and supposes, that they were intended for the *mala punica*, or pomegranates. From the Greek term used by Josephus, and the Seventy we might be led to imagine, that the flowers were meant for lilies; but Reland conjectures them to be the flowers of the pomegranate. In the bas-reliefs the three ornaments always join each other, the apple in the middle, and the cup and the flower surrounding the top and bottom of it; so that we may naturally suppose the flower to have belonged to the fruit. Maimonides informs us, that the cups were like Alexandrian cups, narrow at the bottom and broad at the mouth; in short, like modern saucers, and so they appear upon the arch. The same author says, that the knops were like Cretan apples, in shape like an egg, and broad from each extremity. The flowers he compares to those in the capitals of pillars, or to a dish, the lips of which are bent outwards.

The table represented on the arch does not answer so well to the descriptions, which we have of it. The account is to be found in Exodus xxv. 23, &c. At verse 26 mention is made of rings at the feet for the purpose of carrying it: these are not in the figure. Josephus^f says, that the legs were finished exactly, (*τελῶς ἀκητισμένοι*;) for the lower half, and that the upper half of them was square. This does not appear from the bas-reliefs, but it is possible,

^f Antiq. lib. iii. c. 6.

JEWIS

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 sephus.¹ Two trumpets
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 and brought back to
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 reared them away
 that new vessels w
 their room.³ The
 carried in triumph
 We can trace the
 but what finally
 never be ascertai
 veil and books
 Palace at Rome
 spoils were kept

¹ Antiq. lib. iii.
² See 2 Kings,
³ Mac. i. 21.
 1 Mac. ii. 21,
 1 Mac. iv. 49
 De Bello Jud
 The Ark of
 Church of S. Joh
 phus, that it was

tion is made of the golden fillet being seen in the time of Hadrian. When the Temple of Peace was burnt, in the reign of Commodus, these treasures were not destroyed; for Anastasius, where he relates that Genseric entered Rome on the third day after the flight of Maximus, and carried off a great deal of treasure to Africa, says that amongst the spoil were the Hebrew vessels which Titus had brought from Jerusalem.^a He states farther, that Belisarius, after conquering the Vandals, returned to Constantinople with great treasures, among which were the Jewish vessels, which Titus had brought to Rome, and Genseric had carried to Africa. This was in the year 520. Procopius confirms this account,^b and adds that a Jew, who saw them, told an acquaintance of the emperor, that it would not be advisable to carry them to the palace at Constantinople, as they could not remain any where else but where Solomon had placed them. This he said was the reason why Genseric had taken the palace at Rome, and the Roman army had in turn taken that of the Vandals. When this was reported to the emperor, he was alarmed, and sent the whole of them immediately to the Christian churches at Jerusalem.

We have mention of some more of the Jewish

^a I give this on the authority of Reland, but I have not myself been able to find the passage in Anastasius. Nicephorus mentions it, lib. xv. c. 11.

^b Lib. ii. c. 9.

ARCH OF SE
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spoils in another pass
says, that the Franks
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Rome, and
Solomon,
Jerusalem.
Beside these bas-
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ARCH OF

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Forum. It is of white marble, and consists of one large arch, with a smaller one on each side, with a lateral communication from one to the other. Beside the bas-reliefs on each front, it is ornamented with eight fluted Composite pillars, and it may be observed, that here, as in most ancient buildings, the roses upon the interior of the arch are all different. It appears that formerly there was a chariot on the top: for coins exist, on one side of which is a head of Caracalla, with ANTONINVS PIVS AVG PONT TR P VII, and on the other is an arch, bearing the inscription, ΠΑΤΕΡ ΑΥΓΓ ΣΟ, and surmounted by a chariot with two persons in it, drawn by six horses: on each side is a figure on horseback, followed by one on foot. On another coin we have a singular mixture of Greek and Latin in the inscription, which is thus, ΑΤΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥΓ. ΚΕΥΗ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC. ΑΥΓ. On the reverse there is an arch, and ΑΥΓΟC ΑΥΓΟC ΕCΕΤΕ before. In one of the sides is a staircase of fifty steps, leading to the top.

The Arch was erected in honour of Septimius Severus and his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, to commemorate two triumphs over the Parthians. We know from history, that he made two expeditions into the East: the first in 195, when he conquered King Vologeses; the second in 199, when he took Ctesiphon, and the treasures of King Artabants. The circumstance of his being twice styled PARTHIQVS in the inscription, seems to point out two expeditions and two triumphs. Spartian tells us distinctly, that he triumphed

SEPTIMIUS SE

after the first expedition, but the second time, because he soon triumphed in his stead occasion that the Arch was was deferred till the year *Seculares* were celebrated it placed on each front.

It has been mentioned, to the emperor's two sons but it will be observed, th alone occurs in the inscription M. Aurelius Antoninus; calla or Caracalla, having term of reproach, and death. The name of erased, which was done by order of his brother. The usual method of was, first, to cut the metal to fasten in other metal. The metallic from this inscription, but from this very make out the fact, were once different. The inscription in M. Aurelius vs along the whole thing had been the first metallic ed monument vide Dio: Ab.

By tracing these holes, it is conjectured, that the original inscription in this line was P. SEPTIMIUS GETAE. NOBILISSIMO. CAESARI. OPT. and at the end of the preceding line P. P. has been substituted for ET. The naval ornaments denote the means taken by Severus to transport his men down the Euphrates, Tigris, and rivers of Adiabene.

Descriptions of this arch may be found in Winkelmann, and Serlio: but the fullest account is by Joseph Maria Suaresius, (Romæ 1676,) from whose work I have extracted a few observations to illustrate the bas-reliefs.

I will suppose a person to approach the Arch from the Colosseum; and that he first looks at the bas-reliefs on his left hand. These relate to the first expedition of Severus, A.D. 195, in the course of which he routed King Vologeses, took Carrha, and went against the Adiabeni or Osrhoeni. In the upper part of the piece Severus harangues his soldiers; below him the Romans are slaying the Parthians, and at the bottom the city of Carrha is taken. On the right the siege of Nisibis is raised, and Vologeses flies on horseback.

The bas-reliefs on the right relate to the year 196, when Severus was still in the East. Above are represented Severus, and the King of Armenia, who is admitted to his friendship. In the middle, Abgarus, King of the Adiabeni or Osrhoeni, offers the assistance of troops; and at the bottom the Romans apply the battering ram to the capital of the Atreni.

On the other side of the Arch (facing the Capitol) the bas-reliefs on a person's right hand relate to the emperor's second expedition in 199. In the upper part he is haranguing his men, and sending out commanders. At the bottom he again besieges Atræ, and the inhabitants are holding out their hands to him. In the corner is a machine, called Catarrhacta, for letting out water, which is described by Cæsar.

The remaining compartment contains the affairs of the year 201. In the upper row the Euphrates is crossed, and Ctesiphon taken. In the second two chiefs kneel down before the emperor, which denotes the submission of Arabia. At the bottom, the Tigris is crossed, Seleucia is taken, and Artabanus flies.

The bas-reliefs, which are under these several compartments, represent the treasures and captives led in triumph. The whole series is in an indifferent style of sculpture, and presents but a poor idea of the state of the arts at that time.

This Arch was formerly buried for nearly half its height. Leo X. ordered some excavations under the direction of M. Angelo. They were undertaken a second time in 1563, but soon filled up again: Nardini witnessed the failure of a similar attempt in the Pontificate of Gregory XV.: and the present pope laid the arch open to the bottom in 1804, at which time the pavement of the ancient Clivus Asyli was discovered.

* De Bello Civili, lib. ii.

ARCH OF S. SEVERUS, (In Fóro Boario.)

This stands very near to the Arch of Janus, and one side of it joins on to the ancient Church of S. Georgio in Velabro; so that many of the ornaments cannot now be seen, being buried in the wall of the Church. It is small, and was erected, as the inscription states, by the merchants and bankers of the Forum Boarium, to S. Severus, his wife Julia, and his son Caracalla. The existence of this Arch probably points out where the triumphal processions passed, as we know that they went through this Forum on their way to the Circus Maximus; and these Arches were generally erected on the line of their march. We may observe here, as in the larger Arch, to the same emperor, that the name of Geta has been erased from the inscription. It occurred in the fifth and eighth lines. In the fifth, where we now read **FORTISSIMO. FELICISSIMOQVE. PRINCIPI. ET. P. P. PROCOS,** we may conjecture, that there was formerly **ET. P. SEPTIMIO. GETAE. NOBILISSIMO. CAESARI:** and in the eighth, instead of **ET. P. SEPTIMI. GETAE. NOBILISSIMI. CAESARIS,** there has been substituted **PARTHICI. MAXIMI. BRITANNICI. MAXIMI.** Independent of the marble bearing marks of the alteration, we may demonstrate, that the latter line must have been a subsequent addition, as Caracalla did not assume the name of

¹ Sueton. J. Cas. c. 37.

PARTHICVS till long after his father's death." From the expression TRIB. POT. XII. this arch seems to have been built in the year following the other, where we read TRIB. POT. XI.

Some bas-reliefs may be observed upon the arch, and every part of it is loaded with ornaments in a very rich style. The capitals of the pilasters are Composite. In front is a sacrifice, in which are the figures of Severus and Caracalla: that of Geta has been defaced. Under the archway the same thing may be observed. On the side facing the Arch of Janus is a plough drawn by a bull and a cow, which is known to indicate the founding of a colony, and perhaps alluded to the tradition of Romulus having begun to trace out his infant city from this spot. It is engraved in Grævius, vol. iii. p. 609, and by Desgodetz.

"In Belzoni's Travels, p. 106, there is this inscription, taken from a granite quarry in Egypt:

IMP. P. SEVERI. ET
ANTONINI. PISSIMORVM. AVGG
ET. GET ISSI

where the letters with a line under them are dotted; by which, I presume, that we are to understand, that they have been partly erased. The governor of Egypt in the days of Caracalla was doubtless too good a courtier, not to follow the example, which the emperor himself had set. Two statues of Caracalla and Geta were found at Tivoli, and on that of Geta was written *Sit Geta Divus. dum non sit vivus.* There is an inscription at Præneste, from which the name of the Emperor Commodus has been erased according to the decree mentioned by Lampridius.

senate in honour of Constantine's victory over Maxentius. The battle was fought beyond the Ponte Molle; but, as the triumphal procession, after leaving the Circus Maximus, wound round the Palatine Hill, and so entered the Forum, by the Via Sacra, it passed by the spot where this arch stands. The inscription alludes to the defeat of the tyrant: but the words *INSTRUMENTA* in the third line are supposed to have been added afterwards; since the marble is there rather sunk in, and the holes for the bronze letters are confused. There can be little doubt, that the expression referred to the miraculous appearance of a cross, which Constantine saw in the sky, while he was marching against Maxentius. Many persons have doubted the truth of this vision: but Eusebius tells us, that he had heard the Emperor himself mention it.* Beside the inscription, we read on one side of the arch *VOTIS X* and *VOTIS XX*, on the other side *SIC X* and *SIC XX*. This was meant to express the *Vota decennalia* and *vicen-nalia*, or vows for ten and twenty years, which were offered up for the preservation of the emperor and the empire. The origin of this custom we learn from Dio: "Augustus, in order to remove from the Romans any suspicion of his looking to the kingly power, took upon him the imperial office only for ten years. When this period had elapsed, another period of five years; and when that was finished, still another

* Vita Const. lib. iv. c. 28. (and c. 26, 27) Lib. lvi. c. 1.

"of five, after that a period of ten years, and still
 "another after that were successively decreed to
 "him; so that by a continuation of such decrees
 "he held the imperial power for his whole life.
 "For which reason the later emperors also, al-
 "though the power is conferred upon them not
 "for any limited time, but for their whole life,
 "celebrate a festival for its renewal every ten
 "years; and that is the case at present." (Dio
 wrote in the middle of the third century). We
 frequently find on coins $\text{VOT. XX. MXX. XXX.}$
 and on one of Constantine himself in VOT. XX.
 Eusebius also gives us a particular account of
 Constantine celebrating the *Decennalian festival*,
 when he had completed the first ten years of his
 reign,* and other festivals upon the completion of
 the twentieth and thirtieth years.

The building consists of one large arch, with a
 smaller one on each side; and is ornamented with
 eight Corinthian pillars of *Giallo antico*, with a
 statue over each. There is a staircase leading to
 the top; and the compartment, in which it is con-
 structed, is thicker than the corresponding one.
 It may be remarked, also, that the two smaller
 arches are not exactly of the same width. The
 chamber, to which the staircase leads, is filled
 with fragments of marble, which have probably
 lain there since the arch was first erected. A
 great difference will be perceived in the workman-
 ship of the bas-reliefs; which is to be explained

* Vita Const. lib. i. c. 48.

by this circumstance
 from an Arch of Trajan.
 That we may be a
 little at the two di
 first to distinguish
 to each. The ei
 and the statues over
 Trajan, so did ei
 the ten, which are
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 of Constantine; and
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 of Maxims, which
 which Constantine
 the latter part of
 the ornaments of

- Vita Const. lib. i
- Vide Panvinus l

the victories and actions of Trajan ascribed to Constantine. But this is only a defect, when the story is known; and we have gained this advantage by it, that whereas the Arch of Trajan, and all the other ornaments of his Forum, except the column, are destroyed, these bas-reliefs still exist upon the arch, to which they were removed. It may also be remarked, that Trajan's buildings deserved to meet with this spoliation more than those of any other emperor, since he was famous for placing his own name upon all public edifices, as if he had been the founder of them; which made the wits of Rome call him *Herba Rarietatis*, or a weed upon the wall.^c

Of the bas-reliefs, the four which are in the attic story on the front facing the Colosseum, represent the triumphal entry of Trajan into Rome; the repair of the Appian Way; his measures to supply Italy with provisions; and Partemavirs imploring him to restore to him the kingdom of Armenia, which had been taken from his father. On the opposite front, and likewise in the attic story, we find Trajan declaring Partemaspertes king of Parthia; the discovery of a conspiracy formed against him by Decabalus, King of Dacia; his harangue to the soldiers; and the sacrifice, called *Suocentaurilia*, performed by him. On the two sides there are also two bas-reliefs which are considered the finest of the whole, and appear originally to have formed only one compartment.

^c Ammian. Marcellinus, lib. xxvii. c. 3.

They represent the victory gained by Trajan over Decebalus. The eight round medallions on the two fronts relate to the sports of the chase; of which we are informed, that Trajan was fond; and to sacrifices offered by him to Mars, Apollo, Diana, &c. The sculptures contemporary with the arch are very inferior to the former. Those at the bottom relate to the taking of Verona, and the victory over Maxentius. The line of bas-reliefs, which goes all round the arch, contains military processions, and such-like shows, of wretched workmanship. There are two more round medallions, one at each side, which contain chariots drawn by two horses: these are meant for the sun and moon, and are emblematical of the east and west. The four figures of Fame over the arch, and the victories on the pedestals of the column, will also show the piod state of the arts in the time of Constantine. Those on the interior sides of the arch are of the same date, but better workmanship. The two statues are not of Constantine but of Trajan. It has been already stated, that the eight columns of *Giulio* came from the arch of Trajan. To speak more properly, only seven of the present columns came from thence, for Clement VIII. took one of them away to form a comparison to another, which stands under the organ in the Lateran Basilica, where it may still

be seen. The marble now called *Giallo antico* is one of those varieties, which is only known from the ancient specimens. It seems to resemble that which is mentioned by Pliny, where he is treating of a marble, called *onyx*, or *alabastrites*.^c He says, that one variety in particular was admired, which was the colour of honey, having wavy spots, and not transparent. The faults in this sort were a horny appearance, and too much white, and a resemblance to glass. It was found in Egypt, India, and other places. We know from several ancient writers, that the Numidian marble was of a yellow colour. Each of the pillars is 40 palms (29½ feet) high, and the other was found in the Forum of Trajan. Clement replaced the column, which he took from this arch, with one of white marble; but they are all become so black from age, that the difference is scarcely discernible.

The statues, which are above the columns, likewise came from Trajan's Arch, and are of the marble called *Pavonazzetto*. At least seven of them are so; and the eighth, which is of white marble, was placed there by Clement XII., who employed Pietro Bracci to put heads to all the statues, the original ones having been carried off by Lorenzino de' Medici, who assassinated the Grand Duke Alexander. This spoliation is denied by some writers, because fragments of the statues have been found in Rome. But the contemporary account of P. Jovius^f is too circum-

^c Lib. xxxvi. c. 12.

^f Hist. sui temporis. lib. xxxviii.

CONSTANTINE.

intended to be doubted. He says, mentioned to leave Rome in con- expressly adds, that he left his pl- Rome. The hands were also fragment of the original statue is Capital, with the words AN ARCVI it. The statues are meant to r- prisoners.

The soil, which had accumu- arch, was removed by order of in 1804, and part of the pave- Triumphalis was then brought t-

OTHER ARCE

The Arch of M. Aurelius ex- near the Church of S. Lorenzo year 1665, when it was remo- VII. to make more room in th- the ornaments were eight pill- two of which may be seen in in the Lateran Basilica.] kinds of marble, which seen what we now call Verde speaking they were not m- and the ancients gave to on- Ophites, from the veins in it of a serpent. He tells us,

An Engraving of it may be
Montfaucon's Antiquities, edited
Lib. XXXVI. c. 11.

demonian marble, of a very valuable sort! it was green, and more lively (*Ailarius*) than any other. Other sorts were afterwards found in Egypt, during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, and were called after those emperors. They both differed from *Ophites*; for that resembled the spots of a serpent, and had its name from that circumstance; but the others were spotted in a different manner. Augustus had wavy curls coming to a point; Tiberius had distinct spots of green and white not intermixed. (*Augustum undatim crispum in verticibus; Tiberium sparsum non convoluta canitie.*) Beside which there were no blocks of *Ophites* to make columns from, except very small ones. The specimens in Rome might therefore be thought to have come from Egypt. It appears from the same chapter, that the *Ophites* also came from near Memphis in Egypt; at least one variety of it did, which, from being of an ash colour, was called *Tephrias*. The softest kind of *Ophites* had more white in it; the hard had more of black. Strabo says, that the quarries of Mount Taygetus in Laconia were worked by the Romans; and Dodwell informs us, that he observed at the foot of the mountain a great quantity of marble; the principal colour of which was dark green, with spots of red and white. He did not explore the quarries.

There were four bas-reliefs upon the arch of M. Aurelius, two of which are in the Capitol, one

in the Orsini Palace; and of the fourth, nothing is known. It is asserted, in Spence's *Anecdotes*,¹ that there are six compartments in the Capitol which came from this arch: 1. M. Aurelius, pardoning the vanquished, in his triumphal car; 2. sacrificing; 3. receiving a globe from the Genius of Rome; 4. L. Verus haranguing; 5. Faustina ascending to heaven; 6.

This arch obtained the name of Arco di Trionfo, and di Portogallo. The latter appellation came from Don Michele de Silva, ambassador from Portugal to Rome. Some have thought that it was erected in honour of Domitian; but as Suetonius tells us that every memorial of this emperor was destroyed by order of the Senate, and as Dio^m expressly includes the triumphal arches, it has been argued, that the name of Domitian cannot be rightly applied to this arch. Accordingly, some have given it to Drusus, stepson of Augustus; others, to Antoninus and Faustina. But as drawings taken of it while it existed represent the upper part, in which the inscription was, as entirely gone, it is possible that tradition had rightly preserved the name of Domitian, and that the Senate, content with destroying the inscription which recorded his name, suffered the arch itself to remain.

We have notice, also, of other arches which

Spence only names five compartments; perhaps one of the subjects was extended through two of them.

^m Lib. lxxviii.

existed formerly. That of Trajan has been already mentioned, which must have been nearly, if not entirely, destroyed in the time of Constantine; and there are reasons for supposing that there were more than one arch in his Forum. The Arch of Fabius, who defeated the Allobroges, stood in the Forum, opposite to that of S. Severus; the Via Sacra passed under it.^a At the opposite angle to this stood the Arch of Tiberius; and another arch was erected to this latter emperor near to the Theatre of Pompey.^o Beside the Arch of M. Aurelius in the Corso, there was another in the same street, which was taken down by order of Innocent VIII. when he repaired the Church of S. Maria in Via Lata. L. Fauno tells us, that there was written upon this, as upon the Arch of Constantine, *VOTIS X* and *XX*. Some have supposed it to have been erected to Claudius, others to Gordian. It stood in the Piazza Sciarra; and the stone was used in building the Cancelleria. The Arch of Nero appears to have stood on the top of the Capitoline Hill; and it has been conjectured, but without any authority, that the bronze horses now at Venice were upon it. It appears from Poggio's book, on the Mutability of Fortune, that several arches were existing in his time, that is, in the fourteenth century, which have subsequently disappeared. He mentions one, which had the name of Augustus upon it, between the Palatine Hill and the Tiber; another

^a Cic. pro Cn. Plancio, 7.

^o Sueton. Claud. c. 11.

to Trajan, with an inscription, near the Comitia; and a third to Constantine, in the Circus Maximus. Perhaps what he says of the remains of the Temple of Concord, and of the Colosseum, may explain the disappearance of these arches; that the materials of them were taken away to be burnt for lime. P. Victor says, that there were thirty-six arches of marble.

OBELISKS.^P

Few monuments, which the ingenuity or pride of man has produced, have existed so long as the Egyptian Obelisks in Rome. We are accustomed to regret, in exploring this city, that there are so few remains of the Republic; but these obelisks carry us back to a period far more remote, to the age of Sesostris and Sothis, upwards of a thousand years before the birth of Christ. Whether we consider the art which shaped and raised such enormous blocks from the quarry, or the still more laborious exertions which transported them to Rome, our astonishment must certainly be raised, and our curiosity excited to learn their history. What is the evidence of this history, we cannot now pretend to know very accurately: we learn much from the evidence of Pliny, who must have taken his statements from the best authorities, not long after the obelisks

^P The most learned and elaborate work upon Obelisks is by G. Zoega, *De Origine et Usu Obeliscorum*, Roma 1797.

themselves were removed, and when public curiosity would have been raised concerning them. He tells us, that the Kings of Egypt cut these immense blocks, each in emulation of his predecessor, out of a quarry at Syene in the Thebaid. The stone was called, from the place, *Syene*; from its colour, *Pyrrhopedon*, or spotted red. They were dedicated to the sun, as was expressed in their Egyptian name, *Mitres* [or *Mestres*, who, according to Kircher, is the same as *Misraim*] was the first king who erected them; and Sothis, one of his successors, had four out, which were forty-eight cubits long. So far Pliny. And expression in Ammianus might excite our astonishment still more, where he says of the obelisks, that they were cut out of quarries which were searched for in the very extremity of the earth. But the accuracy of this writer is not sufficient to persuade us that the Egyptian kings went further than their own kingdom, when they had such fine quarries as those of Syene; or he may have intended the southern inhabitants of Egypt itself, or more properly of Ethiopia; who, with respect to Rome, were the inhabitants of the extremity of the earth.

We may perhaps be allowed to be as credulous upon the antiquity of Egyptian works, as upon

^a Lib. xxxvi. c. 14.

^r Kircher makes Ammenephtes, or Memphis, the father of Sothis, or Sochis, to have lived 1366 A.C. two hundred years after the passage of the Red Sea.

^s Lib. xvii. c. 4.

any other. The date of the Pyramids may not exactly be known, but few deny them to be coeval with the early Kings of Egypt. The same antiquity is claimed for these Obelisks, and apparently with as good reason. Some, indeed, have supposed the Obelisks to be much the eldest. Diodorus tells us, that some antiquaries made them to be more than three thousand four hundred years older than the time of Augustus; but he gives as his own opinion, that they were erected about one thousand years before his own time, that is, two hundred and forty-six years before the foundation of Rome, or one thousand years before Christ. After the Persian conquest, it would be difficult to assign any period when the unfortunate country was likely to produce such works. Indeed, we know for certain that some of the Obelisks existed before the Persian conquest; for when Cambyses took Thebes, and set fire to it, he ordered the flames to be extinguished as soon as they approached the foundation of an Obelisk, so much was he struck with the magnificence of the work. Strabo also mentions the existence of some Obelisks in Heliopolis, which still bore marks of having suffered from the fire in the time of Cambyses.

If the hieroglyphics, which are still perfect upon them, could be deciphered, we should perhaps

Vide Barges Comment. de Obelisco; Grævii Thez. vol. iv. p. 1911.

^a Lib. xvii.

find more certain information. An attempt to interpret the characters upon one of them was made by Father Kircher; and it has been observed of his Dissertation, that though there is scarcely any thing certain in it, it is one of the greatest efforts of human imagination.* But at the time of their removal to Rome, these characters were legible; for Pliny, speaking of those in the Circus Maximus and Campus Martius,[†] says, that both contain an explanation of natural history according to the Egyptian philosophy; and of one, which was erected by Mitres in Heliopolis, he tells us,[‡] “that he put it up in consequence of a dream; and this was mentioned in the inscription upon it; for those sculptures and figures are the letters of the Egyptians.” Diodorus also seems to have known the meaning of the figures inscribed on the Obelisk of Sesostrius. If any of these inscriptions contained the history of the erection of the Obelisks, Pliny may have had good authority for the account which he gives of them. It may be mentioned here, that according to Socrates[§] the language of hieroglyphics was understood in the fourth century.

Augustus was the first who conceived the idea of transporting these immense blocks to Rome: he was imitated by Caligula, Constantius, and

* Ramsay, in Spence's Anecdotes, p. 43. He spent twenty years in studying Egyptian antiquities.

† Lib. xxxvi. c. 9.

‡ Lib. xxxvi. c. 8.

§ Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 17. So also Sozomen, lib. vii. c. 16; and perhaps Theodorit. lib. vi. c. 18.

OBELISKS.

others; and they were generally of
Circus. They have all subsequently
moved, and placed in conspicuous
city, by different popes. Kircher
in all.

The loftiest is that in front of St
It is 148 palms (109 feet) high,^b
and pedestal; and 14 palms (11
the bottom. P. Victor calls it

It is of one solid piece of red granite
with hieroglyphics. Ramises,
erected it in Thebes; and Pliny

lived at the taking of Troy,
it an antiquity of three thousand

years. Ammianus writes the name R.
Rhamses; Diodorus,^c Remphe

pses;^{cc} Herodotus,^f Rham

Ramises. After stating that
Obelisks made, each forty

Pliny tells us, that Ramises
others, which were forty

erected in On, or Heliopolis,
mis placed another in

ninety-nine feet high and
cutting this last, 120,000

The Obelisk in front of
have been one of these;

in Pliny's time. Augustus

^b Kircher.

^c Lib. i.

^e Lib. xxxvi.
^{cc} Contra

to remove it, because it was dedicated in a more special manner than the rest to the Sun. In the year 357, Constantius undertook what Augustus had declined. The flatterers of the emperor told him that Augustus had been deterred by the difficulty of the undertaking. This was enough to excite his vanity; and he got over the religious scruples, by the idea, that though he removed the Obelisk from one temple, he should erect it in Rome, which was the temple of the whole world. He had it conveyed down the Nile from Thebes, and at Alexandria it was placed on board a vessel of three hundred oars. Considerable time was spent in the preparation, and Constantius died before the Obelisk left Alexandria, A. D. 361. It however completed the voyage in the reign of Julian, and was rowed up the Tiber within three miles of Rome; from whence it was carried by land to the Circus Maximus. This account is taken from Ammianus;⁵ and his description of the means used to raise it in the Circus Maximus is curious. "All that remained after this was to erect it, which was considered to be scarcely if at all practicable. Several beams were raised to a dangerous height, so that they looked like a forest of machinery. To these were fastened ropes of great length and thickness, so close together as to look like a number of threads wove across the sky. By pulling these ropes, this great mountain, which was covered with

⁵ Lib. xvii. c. 4.

“written characters, was gradually drawn up
 “through the air; and after hanging a long time,
 “while several thousand persons were winding it
 “up as at a mill, it was placed in the middle of the
 “Circus; and a brazen ball covered with plates
 “of gold was fixed on the top: which being very
 “soon struck with lightning and therefore re-
 “moved, the representation of a torch emitting a
 “glowing flame, made of brass gilt, is placed
 “there.”

Cassiodorus tells us,^b that the hieroglyphics upon it, which he calls Chaldaic signs, denoted the religion of the ancients, “*sacra priscorum Chaldaicis signis quasi literis indicari.*” Ammianus gives us the interpretation of part of these characters, as explained by Hermapion, in Greek. He only, however, gives those which were on the south, and part of those on the east side. Three perpendicular rows of hieroglyphics may be observed on each side of the Obelisk; and the explanation given by Hermapion describes three separate rows; from which we may infer, that they were read perpendicularly. Kircher endeavours to prove that Hermapion knew nothing about hieroglyphics, and that his interpretation is entirely wrong. But the learned father has himself committed a great error. He considers Hermapion’s explanation to refer to the Obelisk removed by Augustus, whereas it is evident from Ammianus, that we are to apply it to that which was removed by Constantius.

^b Lib. iii.

When Sextus V. had it transported to its present situation in 1588, it was broken into three pieces, and lay twenty-four palms under ground. Fontana was the engineer who raised it.

That which now stands in the Piazza di Monte Citorio, was erected in Heliopolis by Sesostris, who, according to some chronologists, flourished 1157 years A. C.¹ Augustus brought it to Rome, and placed it in the Campus Martius. The ship which conveyed it from Egypt was preserved at Puteoli as an astonishing work, and was afterwards destroyed by fire. An account of the Obelisk is to be found in Pliny.² “*Ei, qui est in campo, D. Augustus addidit mirabilem usum adprehendendas solis umbras, dierumque ac noctium magnitudines, strato lapide ad Obelisci magnitudinem, cui par fieret umbra, brumæ confectæ die, sexta hora, paulatimque per regulas, (quæ sunt ex ære inclusæ) singulis diebus decresceret, ac rursus augesceret. Marcius mathematicus apici auratam pilam addidit, cujus vertice umbra colligeretur in se ipsa.*” From this passage it appears, that the Obelisk was applied to an astronomical purpose: but some have supposed the words to mean, that it served for a gnomon, or meridian line; while

¹ Bryant (vol. ii. p. 382.) says of Sesostris, “What credit can be given to the history of a man, the time of whose life cannot be ascertained within 1535 years? For so great is the difference of the extremes in the numbers before given.”

² Lib. xxxv. c. 15.

others have interpreted it to mean a solar clock, or sun-dial. Angelo Maria Bandini published upon this subject in 1750, asserting it to have been a gnomon. Antongiuseppe della Torre di Rezzonico, in his Dissertation upon Pliny, argues, that it was certainly a sun-dial.¹ The former opinion seems to be most generally adopted, and indeed Pliny expressly calls it a gnomon. Another dispute has arisen from different copies of Pliny, whether the name of the astronomer employed by Augustus was Manlius, Manilius, or Facundinus. The Obelisk was discovered lying under the ground in a broken state in the time of Julius II.: and Sextus V. had thoughts of employing Fontana to raise it. In the reign of Alexander VII. it was again brought to light: but it was not till the year 1748 that it was dug out under the direction of Niccolo Zabaglia: and Pius VI. employed the architect, Antinori, to erect it in its present situation, in 1792. The base was still standing and measured nineteen palms in height: but the Obelisk itself was broken into five pieces, and had evidently suffered from fire. Another pillar of red granite, found near the spot, (which was raised by M. Aurelius and L. Verus to Antoninus Pius,) was employed to repair the Obelisk, so that a great part of it is now destitute of hieroglyphics.

A considerable quantity of brass was found not far from hence, which is supposed to have been

¹ Vide Tiraboschi, part 3. lib. iii. p. 312.

connected with the above-mentioned maridian. As Fulvio mentions a dial being dug up near to S. Lorenzo in Lucina, with seven lines upon it of bronze gilt: (the ground was paved with square stones) and at the corners were the names of the winds. The whole height of the Obelisk is, according to Kircher, 100 palms (73 feet 4 inches). Pliny calls it^m 116 Roman feet. He also saysⁿ that the characters upon it contained an explanation of natural history, according to the Egyptian philosophy. On the top is a globe of bronze.

Diodorus tells us, that Sesostris erected two, each 120 cubits high, on which he described the extent of his empire, his revenue, and the nations which he had conquered. Thus there is a difference of 112 palms between the accounts of Pliny and Diodorus; and as Kircher found this Obelisk to measure only 100 palms, whereas Pliny states it at 116 feet, he conceives this last author to have confounded the names of Sesostris and Sothis; and that the Obelisk placed in the Campus Martius by Augustus, was raised originally by Sothis.

Another stands in the middle of the area in front of St. Peter's, and its situation perhaps gives it an advantage over all the rest. It is not inscribed with hieroglyphics. Its first position in Rome was not far from its present one, it having stood in the Circus of Caligula, (afterwards called the Circus of Nero,) close to the Basilica. Its

^m Lib. xxxvi. c. 9.

ⁿ Lib. xxxvi. c. 8.

actual position was in the
 from the sacristy to the
 a square stone. Its ha
 Circus identifies it with
 speaks of; from whence
 erected in Heliopolis, b
 sostris, being the only o
 was broken. "Tertius
 "cano Caii et Neronis
 "hibus unus omnino
 "quem fecerat Sesostri
 "Another passage of
 of the two Obelisks, v
 to have been erected
 when he recovered f
 were one hundred cubit
 Bligny adds, "ejusden
 "cubitorum, quem pos
 "Oraculo Soli sacrav
 differ as to the name
 they evidently mean th
 tells the same story
 that Herodotus makes
 been one hundred c

Lib. xxxv. c. 15.
 Kircher calls this king
 have flourished A. C. 1102
 Some would read, fact
 prefers the former, and th
 having been broken; beca
 the diameter at the base is
 of ten to one.

says that the first was only forty-eight; but as the latter author tells us that it was broken in being erected, this may account for the difference. Eusebius and Diodorus make Phero to have reigned 331 years after the taking of Troy. According to Aristotle, he lived long before. This king, whether his name were Nuncoreus or Phero, when the Obelisk was being erected, fastened his own son to the top of it, that the engineers might be more careful in raising it.

Caligula transported it to Rome, and dedicated it to Augustus and Tiberius. Pliny relates some curious particulars of its being conveyed to Rome.^r “A fir tree of prodigious size was used in the vessel, which, by the command of Caligula, brought the Obelisk from Egypt which stands in the Vatican Circus, and four blocks of the same sort of stone to support it. Nothing certainly ever appeared on the sea more astonishing than this vessel: 120,000 bushels of lentiles served for its ballast; the length of it nearly equalled all the left side of the Port of Ostia; for it was sunk there by the emperor Claudius. The thickness of the tree was as much as four men could embrace with their arms.” Suetonius also tells us, that Claudius “built the harbour at Ostia, by throwing out an arm on the right and left, and by closing up the entrance with a pier at a great depth. In order to make the foundations of this pier stronger, he first sank

^r Lib. xvi. c. 76.

^s In Claud. c. 20.

“the ship in which the great Obelisk had been brought from Egypt: and after driving in piles, he erected upon them a very lofty tower, in imitation of the Alexandrian Pharos, that ships might steer their course by fires to be burnt there at night.”

Sextus V. had it removed to its present place in 1586, under the direction of the celebrated architect Fontana, at an expense of 40,000 *scudi*, about £9000. The operation has been described by Fontana himself, in a work written upon the occasion, with engravings of the machinery; and subsequently by his relation Carlo Fontana, who added more plates, in a work published in 1694. Previous to this removal it was still standing upright, and not thrown down, as the biographer of Sextus V. (Platina) states it to have been by Totila. The soil had considerably accumulated round the base, so that the inscription was covered, which is now legible:

DIVO CAES. DIVI IVLII F. AVGVSTO TI. CAES.

DIVI AVG. F. SACRVM

Fontana conjectured that the Obelisk weighed 993,537 pounds; which shows the absurdity of the common notion, that modern engineers could not raise such insignificant weights as one of the pillars at Stonehenge. These have been calculated to weigh about thirty tons; so that fourteen such stones would scarcely equal this Obelisk in weight. Forty-six cranes, 600 men, and 140 horses, were employed in removing it. Among

other rewards bestowed upon the architect for his successful labours, Sextus gave him all the timber, ropes, iron, &c. employed in the work, which were valued at 20,000 crowns.

So great was the interest excited by this undertaking, and so much importance was attached by the pope to the solemnity of its execution, that during the elevation of the Obelisk it was ordered that no person should speak, under pain of death. One of the Bresca family, of the ancient Republic of S. Remo, being present at the time, and seeing the ropes on the point of breaking from the great friction, violated the order for silence by calling for water. The pope, instead of inflicting the sentence upon him, asked him to name his reward. He selected the office of supplying palms for the Papal Chapel on Palm-Sunday; a privilege which is still claimed by the Bresca family. A painting of the operation of the removal is now in the Vatican Library, in which the seizing of this man by the guards is represented.^t

It has been found, that this Obelisk does not actually stand where the architect intended it; for if a line be drawn from the centre of the Dome of St. Peter's, through the middle door, it will not cut the Obelisk, but will pass about eleven feet to the south of it. The error is ascribed by some to Fontana himself; by others, to Maderno, the architect employed by Paul V.

^t Vide Angiolo Rocca, de Biblioth. Vat. 250. Taja, Descript. del. Palazzo Vat. 440.

who did not join on the new building in a right line with that which had been erected before by Michel Angelo. The Obelisk is of red granite. Fontana makes the whole height 180 palms (132 feet), which includes the pedestal and all the ornaments at the top. Without these, it is 113 palms (84 feet). It now serves as the gnomon to a meridian. There is a tradition, that the ashes of J. Cæsar were in a gilt ball at the top of it. But Fontana says in his work, that this is certainly a mistake. There was such a ball, but nothing of any kind was found within it. Part of the true cross was placed at the top of it in 1740. The Obelisk in the Piazza del Popolo is 108 palms (80 feet) high with the pedestal: P. Victor calls the height $88\frac{1}{2}$ feet. It was brought to this spot from the Circus Maximus in 1589, by Sextus V. who had already moved another from the same Circus, and one from the Circus of Nero. This must be the one, which Pliny^a tells us was erected in the Circus Maximus by Augustus; for the other was not brought to Rome till the time of Constantius. From the words TRIB. POT. XIV in the inscription we may collect, that it was erected U. C. 753. But though the inscription also says,

AEGVPTO. IN. POTESTATEM

POPULI. ROMANI. REDACTA

we must not suppose that the erection of the Obelisk immediately followed the conquest of Egypt.

^a Lib. xxxvi. c. 14.

For this event happened in the fourth Consulate of Augustus, thirty years before, which was the year of Rome, 723.

Pliny states, that it was cut by King Semnesertes, and was 125½ feet high without the base. This Semnesertes is supposed to be the same with Psammis; and Kircher thinks the name should be written Psammirteus, whom he makes to have flourished A.C. 807. It is singular, that in one of the chambers lately opened by Belzoni, which is supposed to have been connected with the tomb of Psammis, there is a figure of that king, with a square tablet suspended from his breast, on which is an Obelisk. Pliny also tells us, that the characters on it related to natural history, according to the Egyptian philosophy. It is of red granite like the rest, and a cross has been erected on the top of it.*

In front of the Trinità de' Monti stands another, which was brought from the gardens of Sallust. The removal of it must have been a work of great labour, when we consider the height of its present situation. It had been before carried to the Lateran, by order of Clement XII. and was placed where it now stands by Pius VI. in 1789. It is 65 palms (48 feet) high without the pedestal.

In the great fountain of Bernini in the Piazza Navona, is one 74 palms (54 feet) high, which

* A Dissertation has been written upon the Dedication on this Obelisk, by Joseph Castalio, and inserted in Grævius, vol. iv. p. 1859, accompanied with an engraving.

stands upon a rock, itself 60 palms (40 feet.) It was transported to this place from the Circus of Caracalla, about the year 1650. This is the Obelisk, upon which Kircher has written his long and learned Dissertation, divided into five books, and extending through 560 pages. It was published at Rome in 1650, and he gives to the Obelisk the title of Pamphylius, from Innocent X. who was of the Pamfili family, and who had it transported to its present place. He conceives it to be one of the four, which Pliny, as already quoted, tells us, were erected by King Sothis in Heliopolis, each of which was 48 cubits high. He makes Caracalla to have transported it from Egypt in 249: but this must be mere conjecture; as it is not known for certain whether Caracalla was the builder of the Circus in which the Obelisk stood. When Bernini removed it in 1649, at the order of Innocent X. it was broken into five parts, and lying on the ground.

In the square on the top of the Monte Cavallo is one 66 palms (48 feet) high, without the pedestal. Pius VI. placed it here, it having formerly stood near to the Mausoleum of Augustus.

That which stands in front of S. Maria Maggiore, came from the same place. They were both made in the reign of Smarres and Eraphius,^y Kings of Egypt, who lived A.C. 1028; and carried to Rome in 57, by the Emperor Claudius: Sextus V. erected this in its present situation in

^y This name is also written Vaphrius and Apries.

1587. It is the same height as the last. They are both mentioned by P. Victor, who says that there were two Obelisks on the Mausoleum of Augustus, which were each 42½ feet high. Pliny also mentions them, and calls them 48 cubits in height. They are without hieroglyphics.

It is scarcely necessary to mention the little Obelisk in front of S. Maria sopra Minerva. It stands upon the back of an elephant, but is only a few feet in height. This, like the rest, is covered with hieroglyphics. It was found in the garden belonging to the convent, 15 palms under ground. The elephant was made by Bernini.

This account may be concluded with the catalogue of the Obelisks furnished by P. Victor. "Obelisci magni sex. Duo in Circo Maximus, major pedum 132, minor pedum 88. Unus in Vaticano, pedum 72. Unus in Campo Martio, pedum 72. Duo in Mausoleo Augusti, parvi singuli pedum 42½. Obelisci parvi 43, in pharisque sunt notæ Egyptiorum."

TOMBS.

In all the ancient towns of Italy, the place appointed for tombs was generally by the side of roads; and though they were not allowed to be constructed within the city, there was no restriction as to their approaching close to it. Accordingly we find, that most of the roads leading out

of ancient towns are lined with tombs, and if such a spectacle can ever be said to form a pleasing view, we have an instance of it at Pompeii, where the street of the tombs is one of the most interesting objects in that extraordinary place. Near to Pozzuoli (Puteoli) on the Via Campana we have an instance of the frequency of tombs on the roads near to cities. Going from Rome also through any of the gates at the east of the town, we find ruins of similar edifices. The rich went to a considerable expense in ornamenting their sepulchres: and monuments were frequently to be seen by the road-side, which displayed the greatest taste and variety of sculpture.

The custom of raising a monument over the graves of the dead was more generally practised by the Romans than the Greeks. The former also invariably added the name of the deceased, which the Greeks did not always do in their more simple method. In Greece, where the bodies were generally burned, the ashes were put into an urn, and little trouble was requisite to commit it to the ground. Recesses were frequently cut in a rock, (not unlike the catacombs beneath the Church of S. Sebastian); and in some Grecian towns, such as Syracuse and Agrigentum, we find a succession of these recesses, one above the other, to a considerable number. The urns were deposited in them, and they were closed up. But in Rome, the custom of burning was not of primitive institution. Dead bodies were generally laid in the earth: though there is evidence, that the

funeral pile was not unknown even in the reign of Numa.* War, and the multitude of deaths caused by it, gradually made the system of burning more general. Still many families adhered to the ancient mode; and in the Cornelian family, the custom of burning was first introduced by Sylla, who feared that his body might be ill-treated after his death, and left directions that it should be committed to the flames. After his time the funeral pile was only partially used, many still adhering to the ancient manner of laying out the dead body at full length in a hollow tomb.

In those sepulchres which have been opened the skeleton is always found regularly disposed, with the arms straight by the sides; a vase with a narrow neck was placed upon the breast; another by each side of the head, one at the extremity of each hand, and one between the legs, making six in all. That which was laid upon the breast is generally found to have fallen off, as the body decayed. There is also always a dish containing eatables, such as eggs, bread, birds, &c. and a coin is found in the mouth to discharge the demand of Charon. All these particulars might have been collected from ancient authors; but in the Royal Museum at Naples, the actual reliques may be seen; and the different modes of interment, as pursued by the Greeks and Romans, are well illustrated by models. Some skeletons have been found with a cuirass on, and other armour by their side.

* Vide Plin. lib. xiv. c. 14. Plutarch. in Numa.

Both nations however burial within the walls.^b the Twelve Tables to this *tunc in Urbe ne sepelito* exceptions to this law, were made in favour of far it by some distinguished and Tubertus^c (he says) their descendants still cl C. Fabricius, had special this law was made, and vilege of burying in the only exercised it so far, and after carrying the b applying a torch to it, t walls. The latter fact v who states it as a genera triumphed might be burie emperors and vestals, mig bound by the laws, mig city: and the vestals chastity, were buried ali

^b De Leg. lib. ii. c. 23. See
^c I cannot make out satisf
 Ernesti, in his Index to Cicero
 of the Postumian family, w
 ares Publicola, U. C. 249,
 Agrippa, U. C. 251. Livy
 Tubertus; but he mentions
 tator U. C. 324, and calls him
 c. 26. This is the only place
 is mentioned by Livy.
^d Probl. Rom. Quæst. 79.

ratæ, which was also within the walls. A spot is pointed out as the scene of this barbarous punishment in the gardens of Sallust, but probably with little foundation.

The ashes of Trajan were deposited in some part of his column, and Eutropius says, that he was the only emperor buried within the walls.

A tomb also exists at the foot of the Capitoline hill, to the memory of C. Publicus Bibulus. The inscription states, that it was given by the senate; but for what particular merit of Bibulus the ancient law was violated in his favour, history does not inform us. Piranesi indeed asserts, that before Trajan extended the circuit of the walls in this quarter, to take in his own Forum, the tomb of Bibulus was not within the city: and this is the opinion of Nardini. The inscription is as follows:

C. PUBLICO. L. F. BIBULO. AED. PL. HONORIS
VIRTVTISQVE. CAUSSA. SENATUS
CONSULTO. POPVLIVQE. IVSSV. LOCVS
MONVMENTO. QVO. IPSE. POSTERIQVE
EIVS. INFERRENTVR. PVBLICE. DATVS. EST

We have no means of ascertaining the time at which he lived, except from his being called Plebeian ædile on the inscription. But unfortunately in the Capitoline marbles the names of those officers cease to be given from the year 611 U.C. to the end, with but few exceptions. Up to that period, the two plebeian ædiles are always named, and he is not found amongst

them; so that the monument cannot be older than 611. We find L. Publicius Bibulus, as one of the tribunes of the people in 586, and two years later he was military tribune. In 539, C. Pobl. Bibulus was provincial quaestor; in 540 he was pro-quaestor; and in 544 he was tribune of the people. This can hardly be the man to whom the tomb was given, although the *prænomen* agrees, because in the first place his other titles would have been mentioned in the inscription: secondly, he would have been *aedile* before he was tribune of the people; and then we should have found his name in the Fasti: thirdly, as we know that he was not *aedile* before 611, he must have been at least ninety, if he entered upon the office afterwards. It is probable, however, that both these persons were of the same family, as the *nomen* of each agrees with those mentioned on the tomb. The latter was most likely son of the former; and as the sons generally took the *prænomen* of their grandfathers, not of their fathers, the person buried in this place was probably grandson of the C. Pobl. Bibulus who was tribune in 544. This would fix the date of the monument somewhere about 630; or perhaps it should be earlier, because, as no other title is mentioned in the inscription, he probably died soon after holding the office of *aedile*, to which he was eligible at the age of thirty-six. The *aediles* had the superintendence of public

Liv. xiii. 53. 16. *aediles curules*

buildings, such as temples, theatres, walls: the games, markets, tribunals of justice, matters of religion, and works intended for publication, were under their inspection.

The remains of this building are very inconsiderable, and much must be concealed under ground. A house is now built over it, and a kind of well of some depth may be seen within.

Suetonius informs us, that the Claudian family had a burial-place allowed them under the Capitoline hill: and Piranesi gives a description of some remains of it not far from this tomb of Bibulus. Many ancient tombs may now be observed within the walls: but they were constructed before the extension of the limits by Aurelian; and at the time of their being erected, were out of the city. Of these the most conspicuous are the mauseleums of Augustus and Hadrian, the pyramid of C. Cestius, and the tomb of the Scipio family.

The most ancient of all these is the tomb of the Scipios, which was not discovered till 1780: previous to which time other tombs had had this title bestowed upon them. No doubt however any longer remains, as a multitude of inscriptions has been found to the Scipio family, and some Sarcophagi, which carry us back as far as the year of Rome 456. The tomb is in a garden, not far from the gate of S. Sebastian, to the left of the Appian road. Scarcely any thing is left

¹¹ Tiberius, c. 1.

in it at present; the inscriptions and monuments having been carried to the Vatican, and copies substituted in their rooms. Consequently, little now remains to be seen but a series of damp dark chambers by the help of a candle. There are niches in the walls, where the tombs were placed. The whole is cut out of Tufa, a soft porous stone, which extends over great part of this country. The most interesting monument is the Sarcophagus of L. Scipio Barbatus, great-grandfather of Scipio Africanus, who was consul U. C. 456. The Sarcophagus is of coarse stone, but handsomely carved in the Doric style, with roses between the triglyphs. It has been observed, that this Doric frieze is surmounted by Ionic dentils. The inscription is very perfect, but before the commencement of it a line and a half have been erased. It appears to be in the old Saturnian Iambic metre.

CORNELIVS. LVCIVS. SCIPIO. BARBATVS. GNAI-
 VOD. PATRE
 PROGNATVS. FORTIS. VIR. SAPIENSQVE—QVOIVS.
 FORMA. VIRTUTEI. PARISVMA
 FVIT—CONSOL. CENSOR. AIDILIS. QVEI. FVIT. APVD.
 VOS—TAVRASIA. CISAVNA
 SAMNIO. CEPIT—SVBIGIT. OMNE. LOVCANA. OPSI-
 DESQV. ABDOVCIT.

* Liv. lib. x. c. 11. M. Dutens says, that the skeleton was found entire, with a ring on one of the fingers, which Pius VI. gave to M. Dutens, who transferred it to Lord Beverley.—*Recherches sur l'usage des Vques*, p. 28.

the monument has been found to Scipio Africanus himself, which confirms the tale always entertained, that he ended his days at Linternum, and was buried there. Livy^b speaks of it being doubtful in his days in what precise year he died, and whether he was buried at Linternum or Rome. He retired to Linternum in 565 U.C. and lived there, as Livy says, without any wish to return to Rome. Some accounts said that he died there, and ordered a monument to be erected on the spot, lest his funeral should be celebrated in his ungrateful country.^c Valerius Maximus confirms this,^d and gives the inscription upon his tomb, *Ingrata Patria, me ossa quidem mea habet*. Monuments were shown both at Linternum and at Rome, claiming to be his. Livy mentions one, from which a statue was blown down in his time.^e Pliny also says,^f that there was a myrtle of great size at Linternum, under which was a cave; and stories said that a dragon guarded the remains of Scipio Africanus. An interesting account of the villa, which he occupied in the place of his exile, may be read in one of Seneca's Letters.^g It appears to have been preserved in its original state, and near it there was an altar, which Seneca conceived to be the tomb of Scipio. The weight of evidence is certainly in favour of

his tomb being at Linternum.

^b Lib. xxxviii. c. 55, 56. ^c Ibid. c. 53. ^d Lib. v. c. 8.

^e The place where Linternum stood goes now by the name of *Patria*, from the fragment of an inscription found there...

TA PATRIAM...

^f Lib. xxxviii. c. 56. ^g Lib. xvi. c. 24. ^h Epist. 86.

his being buried at Linternum, so that we can not pay much attention to the assertion of Atrægin in his commentary upon Horace,³ that in consequence of an oracle ordering the tomb of Scipio to be so placed, that it might look towards Africa, his remains were taken from the pyramid in the Vatican, and buried in a place between the town of Ostia and the port. The pyramid which obtained this title was not far from the Mole of Hadrian, and continued in existence till the time of Alexander VI. who had it removed to improve the approach to the castle.

Livy adds, that there were three statues within the tomb, which were said to be those of P. and M. Scipio, and the poet Ennius. A close friendship had existed between the great Scipio and the poet Ennius: but neither this passage of Livy, nor another of Cicero,⁴ warrant the assertion, which has been made by some, that his remains were deposited in the tomb of the Scipios. Valerius Maximus⁵ and Pliny⁶ repeat what Livy has said, without expressing any doubt of the statue being that of Ennius. A bust, crowned with laurel, has been thought to be that of the poet; but Livy expressly says, that it was a statue; with whom Cicero also agrees; and it is most probable that the upper story, of which scarcely any remains now exist, contained the three statues in question.

³ Epod. ix. 26.

⁴ Pro Archia Rosta, ix.

⁵ Lib. viii. c. 14, 15, 16. ⁶ Lib. viii. c. 30, 31.

In the year 1615 a stone was dug up (near) the same place, which relates to L. Scipio, son of Sc. Barbatus. . . . An explanation of it may be found in the Collection of Grævius, vol. iv. p. 1825. and as the epitaph of Sc. Barbatus has been given above, this also may be inserted as a specimen of the Latin language in the age immediately following.

HONC. OINO. PLOIRVME. COSENTIONT. R'
DVONORO. OPTVMO. FVISE. VIRO
LVCION. SCIPIONE. FILIOS. BARBATI
CONSOL. CENSOR. AIDILIS. HIC. FVET. A
HEC. CEPIT. CORSICA. ALERIAQVE. VRBE
DEDET. TEMPESTATEVVS. AIDE. MERETO

Which, according to the Augustan orthography, would be,

HNVC VNVM PLVRIMI CONSENTIVNT ROMAE
BONQVVM OPTIMVM FVISSE VIRVM
LVCIVM SCIPIONEM. FILIVS BARBATI
CONSVL. CENSOR. AEDILIS. HIC FVIT
HIC CEPIT CORSICAM ALERIAMQVE VRBEM
DEDIT TEMPESTATIBVS AIDEM MERITO

The taking of Corsica here mentioned happened

* Cicero tells us in two places, that there was written on the tomb of Calatinus, *Plurima consentiunt Gaule, Populi Præmium fuisse virum.* (De Senectute xvii. de Fin. 35.) Calatinus signalized himself in Sicily the year after the taking of Corsica by Scipio. It is rather singular, that Cicero calls the praise bestowed upon Calatinus *unicum elogium.*

* In an inscription at Frascati we read M. FVLVIVS. M. F. AETOLIA. COEPIT, not AETOLIAM.

U.C. 404, when this Scipio was consul. The *Fasti Capitolini* call him son of Lucius Scipio; and Livy gives to Barbatus the prænomen of Publius; but the inscription must be believed in preference to the *Fasti*, or the existing copies of Livy. The mention of a temple built to the winds illustrates a distich in Ovid:

Te quoque, Tempestas, meritam delubra fateamur,

Cum pene est Corsis obruta classis aquis.

Fast. lib. vi, 193.

The commentators upon Ovid, not being aware of this epitaph, have referred the building of the temple to Claudius Nero, who was consul U.C. 551, to Marcellus, and to Metellus.

PYRAMID OF CAIUS CESTIUS.*

The tomb of C. Cestius is the only specimen of a pyramid existing in Rome. It stands close to the Porta S. Paolo, partly within the walls and partly without, Aurelian having drawn the new line of his walls exactly across it, and left it standing. The height is 121 feet; the breadth at the base 96. It is built of brick cased with white marble, which has become black with age. Upon the walls within are some paintings, still in tolerable preservation. They consist of five figures of women; two sitting, two standing, and the one in the middle is a Victory. The women probably relate to the office which Cestius held; and one

* A Dissertation was written upon this tomb by Octavius Falconierus, printed in Grævius, vol. iv. The pyramid is engraved, and the paintings within it, by Bartoli, *Antichi Sepolcri*.

of them may be observed to hold two long pipes in her hand. There are also vases and candelabra. The room is 26 palms long, 18 broad, and 19 high. We learn from the inscription, that it was finished in three hundred and thirty days. There are two different inscriptions, one which is repeated on the east and west sides,

C. CESTIVS. L. F. POB. EPVLO. PR. TR. PL.
VII VIR. EPVLONVM

The other is on the south side, in much smaller letters:

OPVS. ABSOLVTVM. EX. TESTAMENTO. DIEBVS. CCCXXX.
ARBITRATV

PONTI. P. F. CLA. MELAE. HEREDIS. ET. POTHI. L

An ancient inscription, relating to the same Cestius, may be seen in the court of the building containing the Museum Capitolinum. It was found near the pyramid, and is as follows:

M. VALERIVS. MESSALA. CORVINVS

P. RVTILIVS. LVPVS. E. IVNIVS. SILANVS

L. PONTIVS. MELA. D. MARIVS

NIGER. HEREDES. C. CESTI. ET

L. CESTIVS. QVAE. EX. PARTE. AD

EVM. FRATRIS HEREDITAS

M. AGRIPPAE. MVNERE. PER

VENTI. EX. EA. PECVNIA. QVAM

PRO. SVIS. PARTIBVS. RECEPER

EX. VENDITIONE. ATTALICOR

QVAE. EIS. PER. EDICTVM

AEDEMIS. IN. SEPVLCHRV

C. CESTI. EX. TESTAMENTO

EIVS. INFERRE. NON. LICVIT

Coupling this inscription with that upon the tomb, we may learn that the five persons mentioned first in this last inscription were named heirs by the will of C. Cestius: one of whom, Pontius Claudius Mela, (or perhaps his son,) and Rothus, a freedman of the deceased, superintended the erection of the monument. L. Cestius, brother of the deceased, was not made heir by the will, but came into a share of the property by the liberality of M. Agrippa. Most probably C. Cestius named Agrippa one of his heirs, because he was a man of rank, and because he knew, that he would give up the property to the natural heir L. Cestius. This was customary in Rome: and property left in this manner was called *Fidei commissum*. It also appears, that C. Cestius ordered in his will, that some robes, which were called *Attalica* (from King Attalus, who first invented them,) should be burnt with his body. But an edict of the ædiles, intended to check the expense incurred at funerals,* hindered his heirs from doing this, and the robes were sold.

All that we know of this C. Cestius is from these inscriptions: for he cannot be the same with him who is mentioned by Tacitus,^a as Lipsius thought, because he was consul, which would certainly have been expressed upon the tomb. It might be expected that we should be able to

^γ Pliny, lib. xxxiii. c. 19. Propert. lib. iii. El. 20, 19.

^z Vide Cic. Phil. 9, ad finem: et ad Att. lib. xii. ep. 35, 36.

^a An. lib. vi. c. 31.

ascertain the time at which he lived from the *Fasti Consulares*, where the names of the prætors and tribunes of the people are given. But these lists are very imperfect. The names of all the tribunes of the people are given till the year 610 U. C. in which only one is named, and the other nine are wanting. This is the case till the year 692, where the *Fasti* end. We therefore cannot assign an earlier date to this tomb than 610, and there are reasons for placing it later. The marble of which it is built was not used in Rome till towards the end of the Republic. Three of the names mentioned in the last inscription, are found in the Capitoline marbles: P. Rutilius Lupus, as prætor in 704; M. Vips. Agrippa, as prætor in 713, and consul in 716; and M. N. M. Corvinus, as consul in 722. We may reasonably conclude, that these are the same persons mentioned in the inscription; and as they all survived C. Cestius, it is probable that he held office a little before them; so that we might fix his death somewhere about the year 716, when Agrippa was consul. But we are able to approach still nearer in our conjectures. The *Æpulones* were established in 556, when they were three in number.^b J. Cæsar increased them in 710 to ten.^c But we learn from other documents, as well as from this inscription, that the *Æpulones* were before that time seven in number. At what period they were increased

^b Liv. lib. xxxiii. c. 42.

^c Dio, lib. xliii. ad finem.

from three to seven, we
phrius gives reasons for
by Sylla, which would
So that (supposing Onu
limited to the period be
Hobhouse and flattered
a praetor. scourged by or
publicly assuming Cicero's
for praetor. But make him
sense.^d which would make of a
the punishment to b
and he appears to b
time, which office x
held before the age x
not give any proof

Cicero. We may
we are in search of
Cicero in his speech
lived about the
knight. It should
the Epulones were
they were increase far

The Cestian
some distinction;
out of the island
bably from one o
tion states him
tribe, praetor, tri
honorary

^d Seneca, Suasor.
ut Sed an in script

the seven *Epulones*. The term *Epulo*, which occurs in the first line, is conjectured to have been a surname, as the office would hardly have been repeated twice. The business of the *Epulones* was to prepare the banquets for the gods, upon occasion of any public calamity or rejoicing. This ceremony was called *Lectisternium*, and is frequently mentioned by Livy.

The pyramidal form of building seems never to have been fashionable with the Greeks or Romans. The ancient Etruscans made use of it as we learn from Pliny, who tells us, that the tomb of Porsena^b was of this form; or rather square, with five pyramids rising from it. This is an exact description of the ruin at Albano, which is generally called the tomb of the *Curatii*, though supposed by antiquaries to be that of Pompey. This latter appropriation may possibly be correct; but it seems to be expressly overthrown by a fragment of the poet Varro Atacinus;

Marmoreo tumulo Licinus jacet, at Cato parvo,
Pompeius nullo.

We know that his ashes were deposited near to

^s Lib. xxvi. c. 13.

^b We may write Porsena or Porsenna: at least we may lengthen or shorten the middle syllable: Necnon Tarquinium ejectum Porsena jubebat Accipere, Virg. *Æn.* viii. 646. Minacis aut Etrusca Porsenæ manus, Hor. *Epod.* xvi. 4.: perhaps in both cases Porsena is the best orthography. The Greeks wrote Πορσίνος, Πορσίνος, Πορσίνος.

his Alban villa. We have already seen from Agrippa, the scholiast upon Horace, that a pyramid was raised to the memory of Scipio and Fulvia; says, that traces of it existed near the mausoleum of Hadrian in the time of Alexander VI. The marble which covered it had been taken by Donatus I. (who was pope 677-9), to pave the court of St. Peter's. Clavell, the historian of Arpino, mentions a pyramid in that town of Cyclopean stones, which he calls the monument of Saturn, and which was probably of very remote antiquity, but no such curiosity is now to be seen in Arpino, at least not in a pyramidal form. We have no other pyramid now remaining in Rome but this of C. Gestius. And it may be observed, that the circumstance of this being built as a tomb, in some measure confirms the idea of the Egyptian pyramids being erected for that purpose.

There is a colossal foot in bronze, in the *Stanza del Vaso* in the Capitol, which was found near the pyramid. It was standing upon a marble base; and it is calculated, that the statue to which it belonged must have been fifteen palms (eleven feet) high. This and the inscription given above were found when the pyramid was being restored by order of Alexander VII. in 1673. Part of it was buried sixteen feet by the accumulation of soil. It may be mentioned, as a singular instance of error in so learned a man,

¹ Plutarch.

² Lib. iv. c. 31.

and such a lover of antiquities, that Petrarch considered this pyramid to be the tomb of Remus. The inscriptions were perhaps not so legible in his days.

Close to this tomb is the burial-place for Protestants and heretics of all descriptions: the monuments to the English are by far the most numerous: and the ground was inclosed in 1824 at the expense of the government; in doing which part of the Via Appia was brought to light.

MAUSOLEUM OF AUGUSTUS.

Of this once magnificent fabric considerable remains still exist, but they are completely surrounded by other buildings, and what is to be seen exhibits no beauty or grandeur of architecture. The body of Marcellus, the nephew of Augustus, was the first deposited here: he died A. C. 22: and Virgil, who has so pathetically celebrated his death, makes allusion also to this Mausoleum.

Quantos ille virûm magnam Mavortis ad urbem
Campus aget gemitus, vel quæ, Tiberine, videbis
Funera, cum tumulum præterlabere recentem.

Æn. vi. 873.

J. Cæsar, Augustus, and Germanicus, were also buried here:¹ and we know from several ancient inscriptions, that the freedmen of the Emperor's

¹ Vide Ovid. ad Liviam, 67, &c.

family were likewise admitted. It was of a circular form, 400 feet in height, with a dome at the top, surmounted by a statue of Augustus. The diameter of the largest part was fifty paces.^m The whole was covered with marble. Tacitusⁿ calls it the tomb of the Octavii: and Suetonius^o says, that Augustus built it in the year of his sixth consulate, and planted trees about it for public walks.

The best account of the original appearance of this building is given by Strabo:^p "What they call the Mausoleum is particularly worthy of mention. It is built upon immense foundations of white marble, and covered with evergreens. On the top is a statue of Augustus in bronze; underneath are the vaults for himself, his relations, and dependents. Behind is a grove with admirable walks." He then proceeds to describe the place where the bodies were burnt: "In the centre of the plain stands the Tomb itself, finished in white marble, with iron palisades round it, and poplar trees planted within. The inner circular wall still exists with the *opus reticulatum*; but formerly, as it seems, there were three walls at equal distances, the intervals between which were marked out into certain spaces, so as to produce a greater number of vaults, for the interment of each person separately." Of all this splendour little now remains but a circular mass

^m Spence's Anecdotes, p. 88.

ⁿ An. lib. iv. c. 44.

^o In Augusto, c. 100.

^p Lib. v.

of brickwork of immense thickness: the dome is entirely gone; and this, as well as other parts, having fallen in, has made such an accumulation in the interior, that the present area is raised a considerable height above the street. Platina tells us, without quoting his authority, that the building was repaired by Theodoric in the fifth century.^a It has been fitted up with rows of seats after the manner of the ancient amphitheatres, and bull-fights are occasionally performed in it. Several of the sepulchral chambers may still be seen in the wall, which surrounds the whole.^r

MAUSOLEUM OF HADRIAN.

This building is now called the Castle of S. Angelo, from a bronze statue of the Archangel Michael on the top of it. It seems to have been erected in imitation and rivalry of the Mausoleum of Augustus, which stood at no great distance off on the other side of the Tiber. Perhaps Hadrian did not quite finish it, as Capitolinus mentions something being done to it by Antoninus Pius. Both structures were circular. This of Hadrian consisted of three stories, one above the other, besides a square basement. From coins and the description of Procopius we may col-

^a Vita Felicis iii.

^r Engravings are given of this Mausoleum by Bartholi, in his work upon ancient sepulchres.

lect, that the two first stories were ornamented with pillars and statues, and the third was surmounted with a cupola and a statue of Hadrian. The passage in Procopius is this: " The tomb of the Emperor Hadrian stands without the Porta Aurelia, at about a stone's throw from the walls, and is undoubtedly well worth seeing. For it is built of Parian marble: the square stones [of which the basement is built] are joined alternately to each other, without the admixture of any cement, and it is divided into four sides of equal dimensions; each is of such a length, that a stone thrown from one angle would but just reach the other.^a In height it surpasses the walls of the city. There are also statues on it of men and horses, finished with wonderful skill out of Parian marble. The inhabitants a long time ago observing it stand like a tower overlooking the city, carried out two arms from the walls to the tomb, and by building them into it so united it, that thenceforward it became part of the walls, for it has a very lofty appearance, like a tower, and overhangs the gate in that quarter." In the painting of the appearance of the cross to Constantine, in the room, which is called after that emperor, in the Vatican, the Mausoleum of Hadrian is introduced, as well as that of Augustus, in what is supposed to have

^a Lib. iii.

^b On Nolli's great plan, the sides measure 260 English feet.

been their ancient state: they were probably designed by Raffael.

Beside the basement, the first circular story now alone remains, 576 feet in circumference; stripped of all its ornaments, and with modern buildings on the top of it. The statues were thrown down during the siege of Rome by the Goths under Vitiges; when the building served for a citadel, and the besieged threw down the statues upon their assailants. In the scheme for dragging the Tiber in search of antiquities, which was tried in the summer of 1819, great hopes were entertained that some of these statues would be found. The sanguine supporters of the scheme seem to have forgotten, that marble statues (probably of colossal size) could not easily be used as weapons of offence, unless they were first broken in pieces. Procopius, who mentions the fact of the statues being thrown down, expressly says, that they were so broken. His words are, "having broken the statues, "which were of marble and of great size, they "threw down large stones made out of their "fragments upon the heads of the enemy." It is however asserted by Winkelmann,* that when Urban VIII. repaired the ditch of this fortress, two statues were found there: one of a sleeping faun, the legs, thighs, and left arm of which were wanting, and which is now in the Barberini gallery. The other was of Septimius Severus. He

* Tom. ii. p. 338.

adds, that Alexander VI. discovered others, and in this he is confirmed by Andrea Fulvio and L. Fauno, who say, that they had seen some heads and other fragments dug up, when the ditches were being made deeper. They perhaps were dug up near this place, but whether they belonged to the series of statues which ornamented the Mausoleum, cannot be ascertained. The Tiber has certainly given up no such treasures hitherto, and the above-mentioned scheme totally failed.

Some disputes have arisen as to a pine of metal, which is now in the garden of Belvedere, and which is said to have been on the top of this building. It is often represented so in drawings. But this is a mistake. Some authors have mentioned, that a statue of Hadrian stood on the top; and Johannes Antiochenus^{*} says, that a car in bronze formerly stood there. If this writer is to be believed, the proportions of this car were so immense, that a tall man could place himself in the hollow of the horse's eyes! And yet the height of this building was so prodigious, that the car and the figure in it looked quite diminutive from the ground. Dante seems to allude to this pine in the *Inferno*, xxxi. 58.

La faccia sua mi pare lunga e grossa,
Come *la pina* di San Pietro a Roma.

^{*} He wrote a Chronological History in eighteen books. Some have placed him in the sixth century, others in the ninth. See Cave.

The commentators perpetuate the mistake of placing this pine on the top of the Mausoleum: but as it stood for a long time in front of the old Church of S. Peter, the words in the passage quoted are very intelligible. It stood in the centre of the *Quadriporticus*, or quadrangular cloister, which was in front of the old Basilica; and was covered by a canopy supported by eight columns, on the top of which were two peacocks and four dolphins, all gilt. The whole is said by some antiquaries to have been on the top of the Mausoleum. The pine is 15 palms high, and served as a fountain. Flaminius Vacca^y tells us, that it was found in digging for the foundations of the old church of Transpontina, which is at the foot of the Mausoleum of Hadrian: and this probably gave rise to the idea, that it formerly stood on the top of that building.

It may also be found in some books, that the beautiful Corinthian columns in the Church of St. Paul came from hence; but the account is not true. St. Paul's was built in 396, whereas Procopius mentions the Mausoleum and its statues as being perfect in 536; beside which the height of the pillars, which is 46 palms, is much too great for them to have stood on this building.

At what time it was first used as a place of defence, is not easy to ascertain. Procopius speaks of it as an event which took place considerably before his time. Perhaps we may assign it to

the first Gothic war, when Alaric invaded Rome. In the second war, the statues were broken and thrown down, as already stated. Totila afterwards gained possession of the building, and, according to Procopius,^a a very strong fortress was made of it by the garrison, which held it after Totila's death. They surrounded it with walls, and connected their new work with the walls of the city. In the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Justinian, A. D. 553, the Goths were forced to give it up, and after that it continued in the possession of the Exarchs, who governed Rome in the name of the Greek emperors. The name of S. Angelo was given to it upon the occasion of an angel appearing to Gregory the Great; when he went in a grand procession of clergy and people to S. Peter's after the terrible inundation in November, 589. His third successor, Boniface IV. dedicated a chapel to S. Michael at the top of the Mausoleum. Luitprandus gives the following account of it during this period.^a "In
 " the entrance to the city of Rome there is a for-
 " tification of astonishing workmanship and asto-
 " nishing strength: in front of the gate is a bridge
 " of great consequence over the Tiber, which is
 " the first in going in or out of Rome: nor is
 " there any other way of passing except over this
 " bridge. But this cannot be done, except by
 " leave of those who guard the fortress. The
 " fortress itself is of so great a height, that a

^a Lib. iii.^a Lib. iii. c. 12.

“church, which is built at the top of it in honour
“ of the Archangel Michael, chief of the heavenly
“ host, is called the Church of S. Angelo in the
“ heavens, (*usque ad cælos.*)” There is still a
figure of an angel upon the top: but Andrea
Fulvio, who wrote in the sixteenth century, speaks
of it as a thing which had existed, but did not in
his days.

Different powerful families occupied it till the
time of John XII. who was the first pope that
possessed it, about 955. His successors were
sometimes masters of it, and sometimes driven
out of it. About the year 985, Crescenzo No-
mentano got possession of it, and added the forti-
fications. From him it got the name of Castello
di Crescenzo;^b before which it was frequently
called the house of Theodoric. After this time,
a long period of troubles succeeded between the
pope and the citizens of Rome; during which
time we sometimes find the pope overawing the
people by means of this fortress, and sometimes
besieged in it by the turbulent citizens. In the
eleventh and twelfth centuries the Orsini family
occupied this and the Theatre of Pompey. It
was disfigured and reduced to its present shape-
less form by the fury of the Roman populace in
1378, at which time it had been occupied by a
garrison placed there by the French cardinals,
who opposed the election of Urban VI. and the
partisans of this Pope, when they took it, would

^b Vide Guicciardini, lib. i. p. 121.

TOMB OF

have destroyed it, strong. Boniface I and since his time, added have kept possession some brickwork ened the fortification Pius IV, also did more fortifying it: and less than any of his predecessors has always been as a now serves also with communication with Alexander VI. In ings by Perino del The chamber in which were laid may still be moved the urn of serve for his own tomb.

TOMB OF CÆCILIA METELLA

While we are upon of Cæcilia Metella must on the Appian Way, a Caracalla. Nothing more than from the inscriptions allies her to a noble family.

CÆCILIA
METELLA
Q. C. METELLAE

Vide Guicciardini, lib. iv. 1
Platina, in his life of Pope
was buried at Puteoli in Cicero's

Q. C. Metellus got the surname of Creticus for his conquest of Crete, U.C. 687:^c and we may fairly conclude, that this inscription relates to his daughter, who married into the family of Crassus. It has been conjectured, that her husband was the Crassus who fell in the Parthian war, U.C. 700. He is known to have married Tertulla, daughter of M. Lucullus, and the Lady in question may have been his second wife.^f

That the family of the Metelli had a burial-place upon this road, we learn from Cicero;^g "When you go out of the Porta Capena, and see the Tombs of Calatinus, the Scipios, the Servilii, the Metelli, &c. &c." Upon which passage we may observe, that the tombs of all these families have now been discovered except that of Calatinus; since Canova ascertained the burial-place of the Servilii in 1808. The monument before us seems to be still more expressly mentioned by Corn. Nepos, who tells us, that "Pomponius Atticus was buried five miles from Rome, near the Appian road, in the monument of his uncle Q. Cæcilius." The distance to this place from the Forum would be about five miles.^h Atticus died U.C. 721.

The upper part of this monument is circular, resting upon a square basement. This basement is made of small irregular stones, with large

^c Vide Velleius, lib. ii. c. 40.

^f Vide Glandorpii Onomasticon, where is a pedigree of the Cæcilian family.

^g Tusc. Disp. lib. i. c. 7.

^h Vide p. 120.

CECILIA METELL

square ones at certain intervals. part is of freestone, and remarkable for mense size of the stones, which are in fa than they appear to be; for each block is into two or three squares, and on account arrangement of the squares, it is difficive the joinings. The but an opening enburied under, by which we see the interiis, the walls have been broken in, but enough outside they remained straight, so conical thoughave been much thicker at the top than to the bottom. The person buried here, ceive the roof is broken internally, so that made above, converged straight, though top of the roof is broken internally, so that to prove it to have been straight, though is, the walls remained straight, so that outside they remained straight, so that have been much thicker at the top than at the bottom. The person buried here, to the remains of Farnese, where it may be the court. Poggio says, that part of was burnt to make lime: and Urban some of the blocks of stone for the Trevi.

The cornice is ornamented with bulls' heads alternately, from whence fest has acquired the name of Capo di Bolla ornament of bulls' heads is frequently in ancient buildings and sculptures. I tions it being first invented; but the Gre tainly used it in connection with festoo probably at a period prior to that mentio

I quote this from memory, not being able to find sage.

Livy. In the British Museum some specimens may be seen of it, upon ancient altars.^k The tomb was used as a fortification in the middle ages; and the works upon the top of it were added by Boniface VIII. at the end of the thirteenth century. The arms of the Gaetani family are upon the adjoining buildings; and a friend suggests to me that this circumstance, rather than the ornament in the frieze, gave rise to the name of Capo di Bove; the arms of that family being a bull's head. If the building never bore this name before it was occupied by the Gaetani, this etymology is perhaps preferable to the other.

Another tomb, resembling this in form, but smaller, may be seen on the road to Tivoli, close to the Ponte Lucano. It belonged to the Plautian family.

BATHS.

The luxury in which the Roman emperors indulged in the construction of their baths, is almost incredible. The expression of *Therma*, which is now applied to so many ruins, is certainly not wholly correct; but we have sufficient evidence that immense buildings were raised merely for this purpose. A. Marcellinus^l complains of their enormous size, "*lavacra in modum provinciarum extructa.*" Some were intended for the summer, others for the winter. First of all, the

^k See the room of the Elgin Marbles, Nos. 91, 106.

^l Lib. xvi. c. 10.

BATHS OF
emperors erected them for
but subsequently public
which were open to all.
eight hundred. Mæcenas
the first who introduced

BATHS OF

This name by no means
sity of the building wh
part of the Esquiline Hil
perly be styled the Pala
fact, the name which E
ground is now occupied
extent, and several fragm
parts of them, which al
edifice. The house of T
fore; and the Golden-h
Palatine Hill, also exten
Titus made use of both
structing his own palace
agree with this account, b
and a want of uniformity
that the building was f
there are reasons for sup
some additions. A cons
made in 1777; but the
French, who carried on
and arrived at the loca

^m Dio.

^o Titus, c. 7.

ⁿ Lib. xxxvi.

seems originally to have consisted of two stories; but of the upper one, little remains to be seen. /

It is a mistake to suppose that the ancients built their houses with only a ground floor. At Pompeii this certainly appears to have been the case; nor am I aware, that in the excavations made within the walls, there has as yet been found any house of two stories. Outside the walls there is a larger house, which has been called that of M. Arrius Diomedes, which was certainly of more than one story. The Baths of Titus, Caracalla, and Diocletian, were evidently of this kind; and we know that private houses were sometimes raised to a great height. Mention is made of a third story as early as at the beginning of the second Punic war.^P The upper rooms were called *Cænacula*; and Juvenal frequently alludes to the uses which were made of them. He tells us plainly,[†] that Centronius had villas at Tibur, Præneste, and Caieta, which were very lofty. The fact seems to be, that till the population of Rome became so enormous, the houses were only of one story. Vitruvius says as much;^{*} and by the law, which did not allow a wall to be more than a certain thickness, the walls, which were built of brick, could not support an upper story. They therefore took to build them of stone and stronger materials, by which means they were able to carry up their

^P Liv. xxi. 62. [†] Juvenal. Sat. vi. 100. ^{*} Vitruv. lib. iii. c. 1. [†] Sat. xiv. 88. [†] Vid. Sat. iii. 195, &c. [†] Lib. ii. c. 8.

houses to a considerable height; as Vitruvius says, was merely on account of overflowing population. Trajan published a law, that no house should be higher than ten feet.

The height of the rooms in the Imperial buildings is prodigious, and they are commonly narrow. It is also remarkable, that in the rooms there is no trace of any deficiency; may frequently be observed in Roman buildings. Many houses had no other aperture but the door to the court; and in the Baths of Trajan the most perfect remains of chambers without windows. Some houses, however, had them; and the term *fenes* implied merely an open space let in the air as well as the use of a kind of lattice-work, which was common in dwelling-houses. Virgil describes something of this kind, when he says,

Plena per insertas funde

Where glass was so imperfectly formed, it must have been used in winter, to admit light. And the custom, which prevailed of constructing rooms without windows, probably, from their being now given to every c

tage over the palaces of the Cæsars. In Sicily, and great part of the south of Italy, glass is still rarely seen in the windows. The mildness of the climate allows the free admission of air in the day time, and at night the aperture is closed with wooden shutters. It would seem that this luxury was of earlier introduction in the north, than in the south of Europe. Æneas Sylvius, (afterwards Pope Pius II.) in his treatise *De Moribus Germanorum*, written in the fifteenth century, mentions that all the houses in Vienna had glass windows. "Instead of the rooms being furnished as with us, they have places to warm themselves by, which they call stoves (*stubæ*); for this is their method of tempering the severity of the winter. Transparent windows of glass are in every house." The term *vitrea*, as signifying glass windows, certainly occurs in very early writers. St. Jerom, who lived in the fourth century, mentions[†] glass being run into thin plates for this purpose; and the use of it in churches seems considerably to have preceded the general admission of it into private houses. In our own country, we are told by Stubbs,[‡] that Wigfrid, Bishop of Worcester, was the first who introduced windows of stone and glass into England; and Bede[§] has the following passage in one of his works: "He sent messengers into

^{*} Vide Epist. 165, lib. i.

[†] In Ezech. xl. 76.

[‡] In Actis Pontificum Ebor. anno 726.

[§] De Wiremuthensi Monast. c. 5.

“Gaul, to bring over some glaziers, (artists who till then were unknown in Britain,) to put panes into the windows of the Church, as well as in the cloisters and cells.”

Beside their ignorance of the art of making glass windows, I doubt whether the Romans did not designedly construct their houses in this manner to render them cool. During the summer months, when the heat is so excessive in Italy, it is impossible, as in England, to retire to a cool side of the house, and there avoid the influence of the sun: the whole atmosphere seems to be scorched: and in the shade, as well as out of it, by night as well as by day, no relaxation of the heat is to be found. The ancient Romans seem to have adopted a remedy in excluding the outward air, and constructing their rooms one within the other, so that the inner apartments had the coolness of a cellar. I think we have this custom clearly indicated in some letters of Pliny. In describing one of his villas in Tuscany to his friend Apollinaris,² he says, “In this part is my bed-room, from which the light and all noises are excluded.” In the same epistle he describes a suite of living rooms, and says, “At the end there is a chamber, which in summer is quite frosty from the cold shut up in it: it is contented with its own atmosphere, and neither desires nor admits the external air.” I by no means wish to say, that the ancients had *always*

¹ Vide Dugange, *Vitrea*.

² Lib. v. Epist. 6.

very few windows, or very small ones. I am well aware, that Vitruvius^a gives particular instructions for admitting sufficient light. Pliny himself, whose letter I have quoted above, undoubtedly talks of many of his rooms having several windows; and it appears from a letter of Seneca, that even in the rooms where the baths were, very large windows were then fashionable: and people were not contented, unless they could enjoy a prospect of the country while they were in the water. All that I mean to say is, that where we see apartments in ancient buildings, such as in these baths, and very generally in Pompeii, where there was no aperture to the air but by the door, it was probably an intentional contrivance to have some rooms in the house, which were impervious to the heat of the sun. Vitruvius^c frequently distinguishes between summer and winter rooms; and the term *hybernaculum*, as expressing a separate apartment contrived for warmth in winter, is very common in the letters of Pliny.

It must not however be supposed, that the ancients were unacquainted with the use of glass. Pliny tells us of the invention of it as early as 1000 A. C. And if we may believe his testimony, they were by no means rude in the management of it. For he tells us,^d that in the time of Tiberius a method was discovered of making glass flexible. But he expresses some doubt as to the

^a Lib. vi. c. 9.

^b Epist. 86.

^c Lib. vii.

^d Lib. xxxvi. c. 26.

fact himself; and the story is evidently inadmissible, though it is repeated by Dio Cassius, Petronius Arbiter, and Isidore of Seville, who probably merely copied from Pliny. Aristotle asks two questions with respect to glass; What is it that makes it transparent? and, Why is it not flexible? The Greeks undoubtedly made use of it, and called it *hyalum*, a term which seems first to have signified *crystal*, and perhaps *rock-salt*; and which was afterwards transferred to *glass*, from its resembling those substances in transparency.^e Seneca very plainly describes a glass-blower making vessels of any shape he pleased merely by blowing:^f and he mentions the use of glass vessels filled with water for the purpose of magnifying objects, and making minute characters legible.^g Burning glasses are minutely described by Epiphanius, in the fourth century.^h Pliny tells us, that in Nero's time vases and cups were made of white transparent glass, so as to imitate rock-crystal. They came from Alexandria, and cost a great price. We know also, that they formed cinerary urns of it, and even executed bas-reliefs in glass; so that Winkelmann says,ⁱ that the ancients in general made a greater use of glass than the moderns.

Still, however, we have no direct evidence that glass was generally used by them for those two

^e Vid. Schol. in Aristoph. Nub. act. ii. sc. 1.

^f Epist. 90.

^g Nat. Quæst. lib. i. c. 5.

^h Ancor. 47. vol. ii. p. 51.

ⁱ Lib. i. c. 2. § 20.

purposes, which are so essential to us at present, namely, for mirrors and for windows. The former were metallic, and some specimens may be seen, now grown dull by age, in the gallery at Florence. Pliny tells us,^k that the best were made in his day of silver, which had been used for that purpose since the time of Rompey. He mentions, that there was a contrivance for affixing gold to the back of the silver, which gave a better reflection. More anciently iron had been used, or a mixture of tin and copper: but in his days silver ones were so common, that every maid-servant used them.^l Glass mirrors were first mentioned in a work attributed to Alexander Aphrodisius, who lived at the end of the second century:^m and the squares of glass with which Firmus covered the walls of his room, were most likely used as mirrors.ⁿ

There is some evidence, that glass was applied to windows even by the ancients; and in the *Museum* at Parma some panes are preserved, brought from the ruins of Velleia, which are said to have been found in their original situation. They are certainly dull and obscure, but perhaps not more so than the best glass would be, after lying buried for so many centuries. Similar panes have also been found at Pompeii. "One of the rooms had a large glazed bow-window:

^k Lib. xxxiii. c. 45.

^l Lib. xxxiv. c. 48.

^m Dodwell's Travels in Greece, vol. i. p. 433.

ⁿ Vopiscus in Vita, c. 3.

the glass was very thick, and
green: it was set in lead,
ment, that the transparency
to considerable perfection of
says of the pure fountain of
gives pellucid than should in
natural that he glass cor
cleanness; but if the cor
shall and opaque, when a
great. St. Paul, when a
Now we see through gla
allude to the use of gla
light; and at the purpose
applied to transmit the
enough to transmit the
present day his metaph
as we can now see as
when no such medium
Before the Romans
windows, two minera
tapis specularis, (pro
for the transmission of
time, when one of th
are some arts whic
still our days; sin

- o Sir W. Gell's *Pom*
- p Od. iii. 13. 1.
- q 1 Cor. xiii. 12. T
- in the last volume of
- r Epist. xci.

"(*specularis*), made of transparent stones; (*testæ*), which leave a free passage for the light." Pliny mentions this substance being used for mirrors; and Pliny tells us, that beehives were made of it, in order to show the bees at work. Some have thought that glass also was used for windows at this time; from a passage in Pliny, where he is giving an account of the embassy to Claudius. Speaking of the room of audience, he says, "that the emperor walked about, and ordered the windows every where to be closed with transparent stones, which resembled white *hyalem*." It is difficult to give an exact interpretation to these words; but they are not decisive as indicating the use of glass. We must bear in mind, that the stone called *phengites* was not the same with the *lapis specularis*. The latter was known before the former. The passage quoted from Seneca shows, that *phengites* was not known till about Nero's time, or a little before. Pliny points out the distinction still more clearly; describing the *lapis specularis*, he tells us, that it was easily divided into thin laminæ, and was sometimes found incorporated in rock, but was generally dug up by itself, and only required cutting. It was found in Spain, Cyprus, Cappadocia, Sicily, and Africa; and the laminæ never exceeded five feet in length. This description seems to answer to what we call Talc,

* Domit. c. xiv.

† Lib. xxi. c. 14.

‡ Lib. xxxvi. c. 46.

which is now found in
and Silesia, connected
Having described the
ceeds to say, that in No
discovered which was
and transparent, even
refracts. So that, wh
is still the light
in a different
of specularia, the light
in the room, not
Juba also writes, tha
transparent like gla
cularia." Still, how
mention of panes of g
laria to mean glasses
laris, as appears, also
sages in Martial, wh
information, that the
stoves, houses, constr
read,

Hibernis objecta N
Admittunt soles,

Conditæ Perspicua
Et tegitur felix,

The gemma, in the
same as specularia
gemma would hardly
an artificial substance

unappropriate to a natural production found imbedded in rocks. Another passage in Pliny² is more to the point, because he is there expressly treating of glass. After praising Sidon for its manufacture of that article, he adds, "si quidem etiam specularia excogitaverat." If neither of these two passages relate to windows of glass, Lactantius is the earliest author who mentions them. "It is manifest, that it is the mind which sees, by means of the eyes, those things which are opposite to it, as if through windows covered with glass, or *lapis specularis*." Lactantius wrote at the beginning of the fourth century; and Origen, about sixty years earlier, mentions the rays of the sun being transmitted through windows and certain small receptacles of light, by which he may perhaps have meant glass.³

In such rooms as these in the Baths of Titus, lamps must always have been used; and it may be observed, that there is scarcely a passage in an ancient author, where mention is made of a banquet, but "the golden lamps hanging from the roofs" are always added. According to the hours which the ancients observed for their meals, (the *cæna*, or last meal, being at about three o'clock,) there would have been no need of lights had there been windows to the rooms; which affords another proof that they were frequently

² Lib. xxxvi. c. 26. ³ De Opific. Dei, tom. ii. c. 8.

² A good description of the *lapis specularis* may be seen in St. Basil (homil. 3).

³ De Princip. lib. i. c. 1. § 6.

OF TITUS.

constructed without them. Indeed
architecture terms to derive a peculiar
the absence of such apertures.
is to be made to the chaste an
which ancient Greece has left us
is a heaviness and a want of
masses of solid masonry. The
architects have gone into the e
their aim seems to have been, to
tion of the building into as ma
sible, and in the pediments of th
have been particularly profuse of
difference is probably to be trace
the ancients having had few w
buildings, and the moderns hav
such structures as the Palace
many ornaments, both in painting
were assembled, it might be thought
of the effect would be lost by
seen except by the light of lanterns
to sculpture, however, it is well known
is no greater test of the excellence
than to view it by torch-light.
muscles, and all those delicate
chisel, which are white marble
surface of the light and
much stronger than the pale
It is not uncommon for the
can at night, and view the
The effect is certainly very
tend to discover the
appear greatly inferior to

to
Good;
moder
the an

occasions. We know that there were formerly some of the finest specimens of sculpture in the Baths of Titus, and the paintings on the walls still remain. The Laocoon was found here during the Pontificate of Julius II. which Pliny^b mentions as standing in this palace.

Notwithstanding the depth of soil which has accumulated on the top of the building, and which serves for gardens, there are paintings on the ceiling which may be called extremely perfect. The damp seems to have had little or no effect upon them, which is probably owing to the excellence of the Roman brickwork. They consist chiefly of arabesques, with all the figures very small, forming little borders and patterns of birds, beasts, &c. among which some green parrots may be seen very distinctly. We know that this method of ornamenting rooms was a late introduction; and it was considered as a sign that the art of painting was on the decline, when instead of representing historical subjects upon the walls, they took to draw fanciful objects, such as landscapes, ponds, sea pieces, and such like. Vitruvius makes a complaint of this kind; and it may perhaps be curious to see a description of arabesques in the original language of a writer of the Augustan age. He says,^c “*Pinguntur tectoriis*
“*monstra potius quam ex rebus finitis imagines*
“*certæ. Pro columnis enim statuuntur calami,*
“*pro fastigiis harpaginetum striati cum crispis fo-*

^b Lib. xxxvi. c. 5.

^c Lib. vii. c. 5.

OF T
 Item
 "liis et volutis.
 "sustinentia figuras su
 "tes ex radicibus, in
 "plures, habentes ali
 "gilla, alia humanis ne
 "lia. Hæc autem Ergo
 "pec fuerunt. mali judi
 "uti inertia mali seems
 "tutes." He seems styl
 "rium opus is said to b
 the Arabs and other re
 of ornaments; their re
 make any images or fig
 mals. The Italians sub
 "Grottesca, from the sub
 the ancient specimens
 There are also some
 such good preservation
 have been said to form
 Coriolanus of the othe
 of this opinion. In
 mens de l'Antiquité
 these paintings, with a
 tion. The ground is
 At the end of one of t
 of some building, in w
 rectly given.

* Vide this same chapter
 * See the Life of B. (

Edition.
 Lib. iv. c. 8. § 9.

The charge, which has been brought against the ancient painters, of not understanding the rules of perspective, certainly cannot be maintained. It may be true, that in some of their paintings, which have been preserved to us, these rules are violated: but in a great number they are strictly followed. There is no evidence, that the paintings in fresco at Portici, which came from Pompeii and Herculaneum, were executed by any other than common house-painters. On the contrary it is reasonable to suppose, that they are the work of such artists. When it was as common to paint the walls of houses with arabesques and figures, as it is now to cover them with paper, the ordinary house-painters were of course capable of the work: it would therefore be almost as unfair to judge of the knowledge of the ancient painters from these remains at Pompeii, as to estimate the state of the arts in England from the sign-posts. It would be rather more reasonable to say, that if the most ordinary workmen could do so well, the great masters must indeed have been excellent. But without having recourse to this argument, many specimens may be seen at Portici, where architectural subjects are treated with every attention to perspective. Unfortunately none of the works of their great masters have come down to us: nor would I build much upon the argument, that as they carried sculpture to such perfection, the sister art must also have attained equal excellence. But thus far it is reasonable to conclude, that the people, who had

such models as the works of Grecian sculpture to form their taste upon, would never have lavished such praises upon the productions of their painters, if they also had not been really excellent. I allow, that all praise is relative to the age in which it is bestowed. In the thirteenth century the Italians admired the works of Giotto and Cimabue: nor was this unnatural, since nothing better had ever been seen by them. The principles of architecture were then rude and indefinite; sculpture was as unsuccessful in its efforts as painting. But as the arts advanced, each generation learnt to despise what their predecessors had admired; and in the sixteenth century, when so many ancient statues were discovered, we find, that painters only of real excellence were esteemed. It would therefore not be reasonable to suppose, that while the Greeks had carried the art of sculpture to its highest perfection, they would bestow the same terms of praise upon their paintings, merely because they were the best that they had seen. We must suppose them to have been really, and not relatively excellent. How could a person, who had seen the almost living forms, which a Praxiteles or an Agasias produced; talk of the illusion raised by the works of Zeuxis or Apelles, if these painters were ignorant of the first principles of the art? Yet they have been accused of not understanding perspective, nor the theory of light and shade. The charge has been brought by Perrault, in his parallel of the ancients and the moderns, a book,

in which great malice is shown against the ancients, together with excessive ignorance on the part of the author. With respect to perspective, he has been answered by Sallier.^g The passages, which he produces to refute Perrault are few, but convincing. I shall borrow two of them, and add some others, which appear to me decisive. With respect to light and shade, the first passage which I shall produce is from Pliny, where he says of painting, "The art at length became distinct, and invented light and shades; a difference of colours alternately throwing out each other." In the same book, he tells us, "that Zeaxis, and Polygnotas, and Euphranor, understood how to express shades, and to make their figures advance and retire." The younger Pliny also says, "In a picture there is nothing which sets off light more than shade."

With respect to perspective, the knowledge which the ancients had of it is clearly indicated in the following passage; where Pliny tells us, "that Apelles, admired Asclepiodorus, in his symmetry, he yielded to Asclepiodorus, in proportion (*mensuris*), that is, in putting objects at their proper distance (*quante quid a quo distaret deberet*)." The passage produced by Sallier is still more satisfactory, as it shows how early the theory of perspective was known. It is from that Dialogue of Plato, which is called

^g Acad. des Inscrip. vol. viii. p. 37.

^h Lib. xxxv. c. 5.

ⁱ C. 11.

^k Lib. iii. epist. 13. ^l Lib. xxxv. c. 10.

ANCIENT

the Sophist, he says, "confined themselves
 "portions of objects,
 "a certain point of el
 "too small; and tho
 "would seem too lai
 "near, the other at a
 "fore at present aban
 "their figures not th
 "model, but that whi
 "an idea of beauty in
 perhaps be satisfied
 trivius, without hav
 It is in his preface
 there speaking of the
 says, "that Democ
 "written to explain
 "certain place, we
 "from it meet the
 "extension of rays
 "though ignorant
 "definite forms of
 "scenes; and fig
 "straight and smo
 "to recede, and so
 "I must produce
 which most clearly
 of figures. "Pa
 "a secret in pain
 "imitated, but no

“ present the whole length of an ox; He painted
 “ it fronting the spectator, not sideways, and yet
 “ the size of the animal was made perfectly in-
 “ telligible. Again, painters in general make the
 “ parts, which they wish to stand out, rather
 “ light, and compose a colour out of a black
 “ ground; but Pausias made the whole ox of a
 “ black colour, and represented a body of shade
 “ rising out of shade; showing, with excessive
 “ skill, that parts could stand out where all
 “ seemed even, and that every part was firm and
 “ distinct where all seemed confused.”

“ As to the arabesques in the Baths of Titus, it
 is said that Raffael took some hints from them
 in his ornaments of the Vatican; and he is ac-
 cused of having had the rooms filled up again,
 that his thefts might not be discovered. They
 were undoubtedly open in his time, as the Laocoon
 was discovered in 1506, and Raffael painted the
Loggie in the Vatican in 1513-21. It is also
 true, that they were subsequently filled up, and
 the soil which occupied them was not an accumu-
 lation merely effected by time. Many of the
 rooms were full up to the very top, a height,
 perhaps, of thirty feet; and the rubbish, which
 has been dug out, consists of stones and other
 ruins of buildings. The room in which the
 Laocoon was found, and which must have been

“ A curious passage, to prove the optical deceptions pro-
 duced by the ancient paintings, may be seen in Clem. Alex.
 Strom. lib. vi. c. 7.”

cleared at that time,
have been also choked
to dig. But, we may
soil from the days of
late excavations, how
that this was found ?
Laocoon was almost
stance, that in the
has been broken. So
throw in rubbish. Conjecture
improbable to clear
land, wishing fragments,
of sundry fragments, ev
surface, by throwing Ra
receptacle. He is
the charge against Leo X.
tory evidence. after an
eager search. The Ro
a proposal to
examination. Such, indeed, is
haps as enthusiastic in t
been during any subsequent
imagine, that when such
as that of the chambers
thousands would be led
them. Such, indeed, is
Gianbattista Armeni, a
says, that all Rome can
naments of stucco and pe
such singular varieties. A
have seen the arabesques;
the principal objects for

out; owing to their great height, Raffael could not have copied them without scaffolding and without lights; so that it seems impossible that he could have conceived the idea of transferring these designs to the Vatican, and keeping the originals unknown. Beside which, it is certain, from the work of Giulio Mancini upon painting, that the baths were open in the time of Urban VIII. who reigned in 1623-44, as well as in the time of Flaminius Vacca, who wrote in 1594. Where the walls are bare, the brickwork has a most singular appearance of freshness; the stucco also is very perfect in many parts; but the marble, of which there are evident traces on the walls and floors, is gone.

These ruins extend, as I have mentioned, over a great tract of ground; and in one of the adjoining gardens is a building connected with the baths, and called *Sette Sale di Vespasiano*. It got this name when seven rooms only had been opened; but there are in all nine, of the same size, and supposed to have served as a reservoir for water. There are two stories, the lower of which is buried. Each chamber opens into the next by means of an arch. These arches are not placed opposite to each other; but a person placing himself in the first room may look through all of them, in a slanting direction. To make myself understood, I have given a ground plan of the building; and much ingenuity has been exercised, to explain why the arches were constructed in this manner. But if we examine this plan, perhaps we shall

original unknown. Beside which it is certain these claims to the *Veritas* and keeping the he could have conceived the idea of transferring without lights: so that it seems impossible that not have copied them without scaffolding and out; owing to their great height Raffael could

It is also reported to have been as well as in the

...the walls and the doorway

[illegible]

These terms are not passed on to the child but are kept in the parent's mind.

bootschijn Haren velen. Het menichbinnen
has, gnu...

For an examination of the place of the new staff, why the Arabs were concentrated in this manner, and the many other local activities, to explain

Vol. 1. P. 32-1.

SETTLE SALE.

conclude, that this *is* not the effect which the architect had in view. The plan is in fact extremely simple, and in most respects similar to such a building. It is a series of chambers communicating with each other by arched partitions, which are so many openings from which the water were to spring, and these were not so evenly spaced for the effect, but the space between each two corresponded with the middle of the space between the next, so that the effect of each opening was equal to that of so many arches in one. It is a simple and obvious consequence of the plan of the building, that the architect studied purposely for the effect of the plan, and of these rooms as they were to be used.

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The walls of the chambers are of a very hard material, and are so thick that one above the other would be almost insuperable. These walls are so thick that it is difficult to separate them, and it is difficult to examine them. They are so thick that it is upon the walls, and not upon the floor, that the water should be here, three different rooms, and so easy to explain. Such a phenomenon could scarcely have been produced, without some water, of some passing passed, when the water was temporarily withheld. Perhaps we may be able to assign a cause, which will account for the singular appearance. Of the five great aqueducts, which brought water into Rome, the Aqua Julia supplied the Esquiline and Palatine Hills. On

conclude, that this was not the effect which the architect had in view. The plan is, in fact, extremely simple, and the most natural of any for such a building. To form a series of chambers, communicating with each other by arches, each partition was divided into so many oblong portions, from which the arches were to spring; and these were not set exactly one before the other, but the space between each two corresponded with the middle of the opposite pier; hence resulted the effect of our being able to see through so many arches at once, which is a natural consequence of the plan of the building, but was not studied purposely by the architect. The longest of these rooms is 137 feet; the width of each is $17\frac{1}{2}$.

The walls of the upper chambers, beside a coat of very hard plaster, show three distinct deposits, one above the other, formed by a sediment from water. These are so extremely hard, that it is difficult to separate a small portion from the wall to examine it. That water should leave a deposit upon the wall, seems very natural; but why there should be here three distinct coatings, seems not so easy to explain. Such a phenomenon could scarcely have been produced, without some intervals of time having passed, when the water was temporarily withdrawn. Perhaps we may be able to assign a cause, which will account for the singular appearance. Of the five great aquaducts, which brought water into Rome, the Aqua Julia supplied the Esquiline and Palatine Hills. Con-

sequently, the Baths of Titus were fed from this stream, and the Sette Sale may have formed the reservoir. Now, it is known that the *Aqua Julia* was an union of three streams, the *Aqua Marcia*, brought to Rome, U. C. 608 or 640, by Q. Martius Rex; the *Aqua Tepula*, which was brought U. C. 627; and the *Aqua Julia*, properly so called, which was introduced U. C. 721, by M. Agrippa. Each stream originally entered the city by itself; but as the others were brought, they were successively turned into the same aquaduct, and came on one course of arches into Rome. Now it seems not improbable, that the *Aqua Marcia* or *Tepula* (whichever was the earliest) formed the first deposit. It would seem, also, by another stream being brought in, that the first must have proved deficient; or while the second work was going on, the water might have been withdrawn, and thus we have the first deposit. Then, when the two streams were let in, another deposit began to be formed, which would not incorporate with the first, but lie over it. Lastly, when the *Aqua Julia* was being introduced, (after an interval of nearly a century,) the same temporary withdrawing of the water might have taken place, and thus the second deposit would have hardened. After this, the third was formed by the three streams united. To allow this, we must assume that the *Sette Sale* were not built as a reservoir for the Baths of Titus, but long antecedent, which is not at all contrary to the appearance of the building. It is, indeed, natural to suppose, that when

Agrippa brought the Aquaduct to the Esquiline Hill, there was a reservoir constructed for it. It seems to have been the custom with most of the aquaducts. The remains of a reservoir for the Claudian Aquaduct are still to be seen near the Temple of Minerva Medica; and what is called the *Castello dell' Acqua Giulia*, is always allowed to have been a reservoir, though it is disputed for what water. The *Piscina Mirabile* near Baiæ, and the Labyrinth near Pozzuoli, are also instances of this custom prevailing.^p

TO THE BATHS OF CARACALLA

These, which form the principal ruin on Mount Aventine, were smaller than the baths of Diocletian, and larger than those of Titus: but much more is remaining of them, than of either of the others. They look not unlike the ruins of some of our old castles in England, and next to the Colosseum present the greatest mass of ancient building in Rome. The length of the whole is said to be 1840 feet, the breadth 1476. The outer wall may be traced in nearly its whole circuit, though it has lost something of its height. The number of rooms in the interior, and the dimensions of them, are most astonishing: one in particular, supposed to be the *Cella Solaris*, is

^p The use for which these two buildings were constructed has been disputed. Seneca exactly describes one of them, and calls it *Piscina*. Nat. Quæst. lib. i. c. 3.

203 feet long by 146 wide: the flat roof, which covered it, was considered very surprising by the ancients. Spartianus describes the baths thus: "At Rome he left some astonishing baths, which bear his name. There is a room in them called *Calla-Solaria*, which architects say could not possibly have been constructed in any other way. Cross bars of brass or copper are said to be placed over it, upon which the whole vaulting rests; and the space is so great that skilful mechanics say that the same effect could not be produced by any other means." Lampridius says, that they were begun by Caracalla, and that Heliogabalus annexed portions which were finished by Alexander Severus. From the former of these they were called *Therma Antoniniana*. Olympiodorus tells us, that 1600 seats were made of polished marble for the use of the persons bathing. The lower story, in which the baths were constructed, is entirely buried, and the rooms of the upper story, which are what we now see, are in complete ruin. The roofs, where any portion of them remain, consist half of pumice stone, for the sake of lightness in such large arches. The niches are very perfect in some squares of it, but in the most perfect parts there is nothing to be seen of windows. By means of a broken staircase a person may climb up to the top of the building, and ramble in various directions through a kind of shrubbery.

¹ Caracalla, 9.

² Spence's Anecdotes, p. 94.

which has grown on the summit of the walls. Perpendicular channels of tiles may be observed on the outside, which seem to have carried the water from the roof.

It is to be regretted, that excavations are not carried on here at present on a more extensive scale, as there is every reason to expect, that the search would be repaid. Some of the finest works, which the ancients have left us in sculpture have been found here. In 1540, during the reign of Paul III. the Farnese Hercules was discovered. At first the legs were wanting; but they were found in 1560, and came into the possession of Prince Borghese, who refused for some time to give them up. They are now however rejoined to the body. In the mean time a fresh pair of legs had been executed by Guglielmo della Porta, under the direction of Michel Angelo, and these may now be seen in the Farnese palace at Rome. The name of the sculptor Glycon is upon the statue; and it had struck me that Horace might allude to the enormous bulk of this statue, and not to a Gladiator as is commonly supposed, when he says,

Nec quia desperes invicti membra Glyconis.

Epist. i. 1. 30.

But Sandby has anticipated me in this remark, and Fea, the annotator of Winkelmann, says, that he is wrong, but does not add his reasons.

The Abbé Dubos[†] also thought that this statue was distinctly mentioned by Pliny: but in this he is corrected by Winkelmann. The latter writer places Glycon among the sculptors who flourished after the time of Alexander. A figure exactly resembling this may be seen on a coin of Commodus; which from the inscription appears to have been struck at Nicæa. Addison seems to argue from this circumstance, that the statue itself was not older than the time of Commodus; but we know from history,[‡] that statues were erected to that emperor under the form of Hercules; and his coins may have been struck with this figure upon them from the same reason.

Paul III. being a Farnese, the Hercules became the property of that family, and was preserved in their palace at Rome. But by the marriage of Philip V. King of Spain, with Elizabeth Farnese, the crown of Spain gained a claim to the possessions of that family. By the Quadruple Alliance in 1718, the Duchies of Parma and Placentia^{*} were adjudged to the Infant Don Carlos, son of Philip V. upon the extinction of the Dukes of the Farnese family. Their line terminated with Antonio Francesco, who died in 1731 without issue; upon which Don Carlos succeeded. He gave them up to the emperor

[†] Reflexions sur la Poesie et la Peinture. N. et D. P. 1.

[‡] Æl. Lamprid. 9.

^{*} Paul III. in 1545, gave Parma and Placentia to his son, Peter Louis Farnese, as Duke.

by the treaty of Vienna in 1738; but in 1748, by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, they were again transferred to Don Philip, brother to Don Carlos. Philip dying without issue in 1765, Don Carlos, who was then King of Spain, took possession of them, and left them to his son Ferdinand, who became King of Naples in 1759. It was then that all the Farnese property became attached to the crown of Naples; and all the remains of antiquity, which were formerly in their palace at Rome, were removed to Naples.

The Flora, which is also in the royal Neapolitan Gallery, was found here in the same year with the Hercules, 1540. This seems certainly to be improperly called a Flora, and the flowers in the left hand, from which the name is taken, are a modern addition, together with the whole arm. The right arm also, the head, the legs and feet, have been restored by a modern hand. The figure is colossal, being nearly ten feet high. It is more difficult to decide what it ought to be called. Winkelmann (who appears never to have seen the statue) calls it in one place a Terpsichore, in another one of the Hours.

The famous *Toro Farnese* which is also at Naples, in the *Villa Reale*, was a produce of the same excavation about the year 1546. This groupe represents Dirce fastened by her hair to a bull by Zethus and Amphion; but when the

bull is on the point of starting off, Antiope orders them to release her, and they are stopping the fury of the animal.^a Pliny mentions this piece of sculpture,^b and tells us that the artists were Apollonius and Tauriscus. He adds also, that it was formed of one block of marble. Of the truth of this statement we cannot now judge, as it has been greatly broken and restored by modern hands. Baptista Bianchi of Milan was the person employed to replace the parts which were wanting. These parts are the head, breast, and two arms of Dirce; the head and arms of Antiope; both the figures of Amphion and Zethus, except the two torsos and one leg. The legs of the bull and the cord are also modern. As Winkermann^c (from whom I have borrowed this detail) condemns these restorations; and assigns to the original group a date subsequent to the age of Alexander;

The Jesuits begged to have these baths for their boys to play in, and have since sold a good deal of the stone. On the east side of this immense fabric are considerable remains of the portico, which was built by Hellogabalus and his successors, from 197 to 217.

^a Vide Propert. lib. iii. el. 15. has etiam. libell.

^b Lib. xxvi. c. 5. He says that it was in the collection of Pollio.

^c Evelyn, who travelled in 1644, mentions the *Torso* of Amphion represented in five figures.

Lib. vi. c. 4. § 17. Spence's Anecdotes, p. 94.

Alexander Severus. Within the precincts is an octagon building, which has been called a Temple of Hercules. There are four large niches in it, apparently for statues.

BATHS OF DIOCLETIAN.

Of these baths, which were the largest in Rome, little is to be said in description, although great fragments of the ancient building remain. Maximianus, when he returned from Africa, A.D. 298, began them, and employed seven years in the work. He had distinguished himself very much in persecuting the Christians, and accordingly he ordered as many as he could find to work in the building. Some say that forty thousand Christians worked here: according to Evelyn, an hundred and fifty thousand. "Hence," says one of the antiquaries of Rome, "though all the other baths are destroyed, these, which were built by the hands of saints, are still preserved." He adds, that some of the bricks have been found with a cross marked upon them. At the time when he wrote, which is about two centuries ago, the remains of them were much greater; and when architecture was reviving in Italy, San Gallo, Michel Angelo, and others; studied them more than any other ancient specimens of building. They undoubtedly have given rise to some instances of bad taste, particularly in the superfluity of ornament, which we cannot be surprised at finding in these baths, when we consider the age

in which they were built; and we may regret, that the great revivers of the art had recourse to them, rather than to simpler and chaster models. There are examples here of a series of columns, not supporting any horizontal entablature, (as in the more ancient Roman buildings,) but connected by arches springing from one to the other, as in our Saxon or Norman churches. The same may be observed in the ruins of Diocletian's palace at Spalatro.

The Church of S. Maria degli Angeli occupies the principal part of these baths; and we may learn something of their extent, by considering the Church of S. Bernardo as one of four round towers which stood at each angle. These two buildings are all that remain in any thing like a perfect state. The former is said to have served for a picture gallery. Very considerable fragments of brickwork may be seen behind it, and it is remarkable, that in an excavation made near this spot, so much lead was found, that the cupola of S. Bernardo was covered with it. These ruins stand both upon the Viminal and Quirinal hills, which come to a junction in this place.

BATHS OF PAULUS ÆMILIUS

This name is given to some ruins which stand south-east of Trajan's column; but they are in such a mutilated state, and so blocked up by houses, that little can be known about them. All that remains of the building is of brick; it was

of a semicircular form, with a covered arcade going round the interior of it. Winkelmann does not seem to consider them as baths; and Desgodetz supposes them to be the remains of a theatre.

RIVER AND BRIDGES.

The Tiber is a stream of which classical recollections are apt to raise too favourable anticipations. When we think of the fleets of the capital of the world sailing up it, and pouring in the treasures of tributary kingdoms, we are likely to attach to it ideas of grandeur and magnificence. But if we come to the Tiber with such expectations, our disappointment will be great. At the bridge of S. Angelo it is about 315 feet wide, and where it is divided by the island, it may be 450. Dionysius says of it, "The breadth is nearly four *plethra* [about 400 feet]: it is navigable for large ships; and the stream is rapid, and full of eddies." So that though its width is respectable, it is by no means to be reckoned among the large rivers. It was more anciently called *Albula*, as Virgil tells us,

Tum Reges, asperque immani corpore Tiberis,

A quo post Itali fluvium cognomine Tibrim

Diximus: amisit verum vetus Albula nomen.

Æn. viii. 330.

It receives forty-two other streams in its course.

The Tiber has been described by two writers G. Bath. Modio, Rome, 1556, and Andrea Bacci, Venice, 1576.

So also Ovid, *Fast.* lib. ii. 489, and *lib. iv.* 47.

The epithet of *flavus*, (yellow,) which is so constantly attached to it by the ancients, is evidently derived from the muddy colour which it always bears: and Virgil describes it accurately, when he says,

Vorticibus rapidis et multa flavus arena

In mare prorumpit.—Æn. vii. 31.^b

It is subject to very high floods, which happen frequently; and the water sometimes comes as high as the Piazza di Spagna. In the winter of 1819 the Pantheon was under water; which is not uncommon, as it is near to the river; and the drain, which carries off the rain falling from the aperture at top, also lets in the water of the river. On the Porto di Ripetta are two pillars, which mark the height of the different floods for several years past: the year and month is also recorded, from which it appears, that they have all happened between the months of November and February. The highest of all was in 1606. The following is the list, though perhaps not complete.

1495 December.	1686 November.
1606 —————	1687 —————
1637 February.	1702 December.
1660 November.	1750 —————
1665 —————	1805 February.

This list omits the great inundations of 1530, 1557,

^b I have only met with one author who has flattered the Tiber with praising the *purity* of its stream. Dionysius Periegetes says of it,

Θύμβρις ἑλισσόμενος καθαρὸν ῥέον εἰς ἅλα βάλλει.

1598, and of the floods which happened before this account begins, we may collect the following years, 5, 15, 69, 589, 614, 685, 715, 717, 780, 791, 797, 858, and 1345.¹ Another account of the height of these inundations is kept on the front of S. Maria sopra Minerva: and the level to which the water rose in 1530, is marked above the statue of Pasquino.

The frequency of these floods gave rise to several speculations among the ancients, as to the possibility of preventing them. Tacitus^k mentions a project, which was debated in the senate, A.D. 15, for diverting some of the streams which run into the Tiber; but deputies from various towns appeared, who partly from local interests and partly from superstition, entreated them not to put their scheme into execution. Aurelian had the banks of the Tiber raised, and its channel cleared, to prevent inundations.¹ The vast accumulation of soil, by which the surface of modern Rome is raised so many feet above the ancient, must undoubtedly make it less liable to suffer from floods now than formerly.

The Tiber is now crossed by four bridges, that of S. Angelo, Ponte Sisto, and the two which lead in and out of the island, all of which are old. Beside these there are vestiges of three others, which existed in the time of the ancient Romans. The one highest up the stream is the Ponte S.

¹ An interesting account of the rising of the Tiber may be seen in Pliny's Letters, lib. viii. ep. 17.

^k An. lib. i. c. 79.

¹ Vopiscus, Aurel. 47.

Angelo, of three arches all of the same size, and two smaller ones. There were formerly two other arches, still smaller, as is represented on a medal of Hadrian. It was built by that emperor, and from him called *Pons Ælius*, or *Hadriani*. It had its present name from the figure of the angel on the top of the Mausoleum of Hadrian, or Castle of S. Angelo. The appearance of this bridge in the time of Leo X. may be seen in a painting in the Trinità de' Monti, where is a portrait of Leo himself, in the character of Gregory, with an angel appearing to him. Having given way in consequence of the great crowd assembled at the Jubilee of 1450,^m it was widened and improved by Nicolas V. and again repaired by Clement IX. in 1668, who erected the balustrade, and placed ten figures of angels in marble upon it, each of which carries the representation of some of the instruments of our Saviour's sufferings. These figures will not attract much admiration, being heavy and ill-executed. Clement VII. added the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Next to this was the *Pons Triumphalis*, so called, because the generals, who had conquered on the north and west of Rome, passed over this bridge in conducting the triumphs to the Capitol. This seems to have been the one called by P. Victor, *Pons Vaticanus*. It is now entirely destroyed, but the piers of it may be distinguished by the agitation of the water. It was

^m Raynald ad an. 1450.

the longest of all the bridges, and probably destroyed towards the end of the fourth century, as Prudentius says, that in his time (A. D. 404) the only approach to the Vatican was by the Pons Ælius. Julius II. and Alexander VII. had thoughts of repairing this bridge; but they never fulfilled their designs; and in 1812 many pieces of stone were taken from the remaining piers, to improve the navigation of the river.

Next to this is the Ponte Sisto of four arches, the date of which is not known. Some ascribe it to Trajan, some to Antoninus Pius. Nardini gives an inscription, which mentions the repair of it by Hadrian. Its ancient name was Pons Janiculensis; and its modern one was derived from Sextus IV. who repaired it in 1474. Andrea Fulvio tells us, that it was also called Ponte Aurelio, and Ponte *Rotto*, because it had been broken down in some disturbances. The latter name is now applied to the bridge below the island, which had not suffered by inundations, so as to deserve that title, when Fulvio wrote.

The bridge which leads into the island is now called *Ponte di quattro Capi*, from four heads of Janus which were formerly upon it. Its ancient name was Pons Fabricius, from L. Fabricius, who built it in the year of Rome 692.* The inscription, as given by Nardini, is as follows:

* Dio, lib. xxxvii. The Scholiast upon Horace (Sat. lib. ii. 3, 36) says, that the Fabricius who built the bridge was Consul; but there was no Consul of that name in 692, or about that period.

L. FABRICIVS. C. F. CVR. VIAR. FACIENDVM /

COERAVIT. IDEMQ. PROBAVIT

Q. LEPIDVS. M. F. M. LOLLIVS. M. F. COS)

A. C. PROBAVERVNT

Horace mentions this bridge:°

Atque a Fabricio non tristem ponte reverti

It was also called *Tarpeius*; and, according to the Scholiast of Horace, *Lapideus*. It consists of two large arches, and a smaller one between them, through which the water only runs when it is very high.

The bridge which leads out of the island, towards the Janiculum, is called Ponte di S. Bartolomeo, from the neighbouring church; and anciently Pons Cestius. Who this Cestius was is not known. A, Fulvio and L. Fauno mention an inscription dug up near the Bridge of S. Angelo, in which VAL. CESTIVS. CVRATOR. RIPARYM. ET. ALVEI. TIBERIS is named in the fourth year of Vespasian.^p The only inscription on the bridge is,

PERANNES. INCHOARI. PERFICI. DEDICARI

It has also been called Pons Ferratus. It was repaired by the Emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian, as appears from two long inscriptions on each side. It consists of one large arch and two smaller ones.

° Sat. ii. 3. 36.

^p The younger Pliny also held this office.

Next to this is the Ponte Rotto, or as it is sometimes called Ponte S. Maria (either from the Church of S. Maria Egiziaca,¹ or from an image of the Virgin, which was on the bridge). It was anciently called Pons Palatinus. M. Fulvius began it U.C. 574; and it was finished by Scipio Africanus and L. Mummius U.C. 611.² Some antiquaries have also called it Pons Senatorius. It was the first stone bridge built in Rome. Having suffered by a great inundation, it was repaired in 1556-5 by Julius III. It was again injured shortly after, and Gregory XIII. restored it in 1575. But two arches being carried away by an extraordinary rise of the waters in 1598, it has never been repaired since. Hence it has its present name. There remain now three arches, and two smaller ones between them in case of high floods. It is still passable on foot, a continuation having been made of wood.

Lower down than this, there was formerly the Pons Sublicius, so called from the *sublices*, (said to be a Volscian term,) or wooden piles, of which it was made. This was the first bridge ever constructed in Rome, unless we believe the story preserved by Macrobius,³ that Hercules on his return from Spain constructed a temporary bridge

¹ This church was given by Pius V. to the Armenian Christians, and had its name from an Egyptian saint, who, from being a notorious sinner, was miraculously converted at Jerusalem, and passed the rest of her days in a desert beyond Jordan. (Martyr. Rom. 2 April.)

² Liv. xl. c. 51.

³ Lib. i. c. 2.

nearly on this spot. Plutarch indeed says,¹ that there was a bridge here even before the time of Hercules. The Pons Sublicius was the work of Ancus Martius, the fourth king. It was here that Horatius Cocles withstood the army of Porsenna, till the bridge was broken down behind him. It was then repaired, but still in wood, and without any nails, so that it might be taken to pieces when required.² It was destroyed by a great flood in the reign of Augustus,³ and since Plutarch⁴ informs us that it was rebuilt in stone by Æmilius, it is probable that this took place in the year after the inundation, when P. Æmilius Lepidus was Censor.⁵ Hence the bridge is sometimes called Pons Æmilius⁶ or Pons Lepidi. It was injured by a flood in the reign of Tiberius, and that emperor restored it. Tacitus tells us,⁷ that in the time of Otho it was destroyed by a sudden inundation, A. D. 69. It seems to have remained in ruins a long time; at least we have no account of its being repaired till the time of Antoninus Pius.⁸ It afterwards went by the name of Ponte Marmorato.⁹ In 780 it was carried away by a flood, and has never since been rebuilt. In 1484, what remained of

¹ Probl.

² Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 23.

³ Dio, lib. 53.

⁴ Numa.

⁵ Dio, lib. 54.

⁶ Juvenal, Sat. vi. 32. Though some take this for another bridge: P. Victor.

⁷ Hist. lib. i. c. 86.

⁸ J. Capitolinus, 8.

⁹ A. Fulvio.

the piers was taken away, as the navigation of the river was impeded.

Higher up than all these, but two miles from Rome, is the *Pontæ Molle*, as it is now called; which seems to be a corruption from *Pons Milvius* or *Mulvius*, which was the ancient name. The present bridge is sometimes stated to have been built by *Æmilius Scaurus*, who was Censor, U. C. 644.* But *Livy* mentions† a *Pons Mulvius* in this place in the year 546. It was repaired by *Augustus*; but the present bridge is perhaps not older than the time of *Nicolas V.* who rebuilt it in the fifteenth century. Some traces of a more ancient bridge may be seen not far off at low water.‡

There must have been a bridge here in very early times, if there was any truth in the tradition of it being customary to throw a man from this bridge into the water as an offering to *Pluto*, and that the sacrifice was put an end to by *Hercules*, when he returned from Spain. *Lactantius* names the *Pons Milvius*§ as the scene of this barbarity; but *Ovid* seems to allude to the same story, and speaks of a *wooden bridge*.¶

* *Aur. Victor, de Vir. Illustr. c. 27.*

† *Lib. xxvii. c. 51.*

‡ *Instit. lib. i. c. 21.*

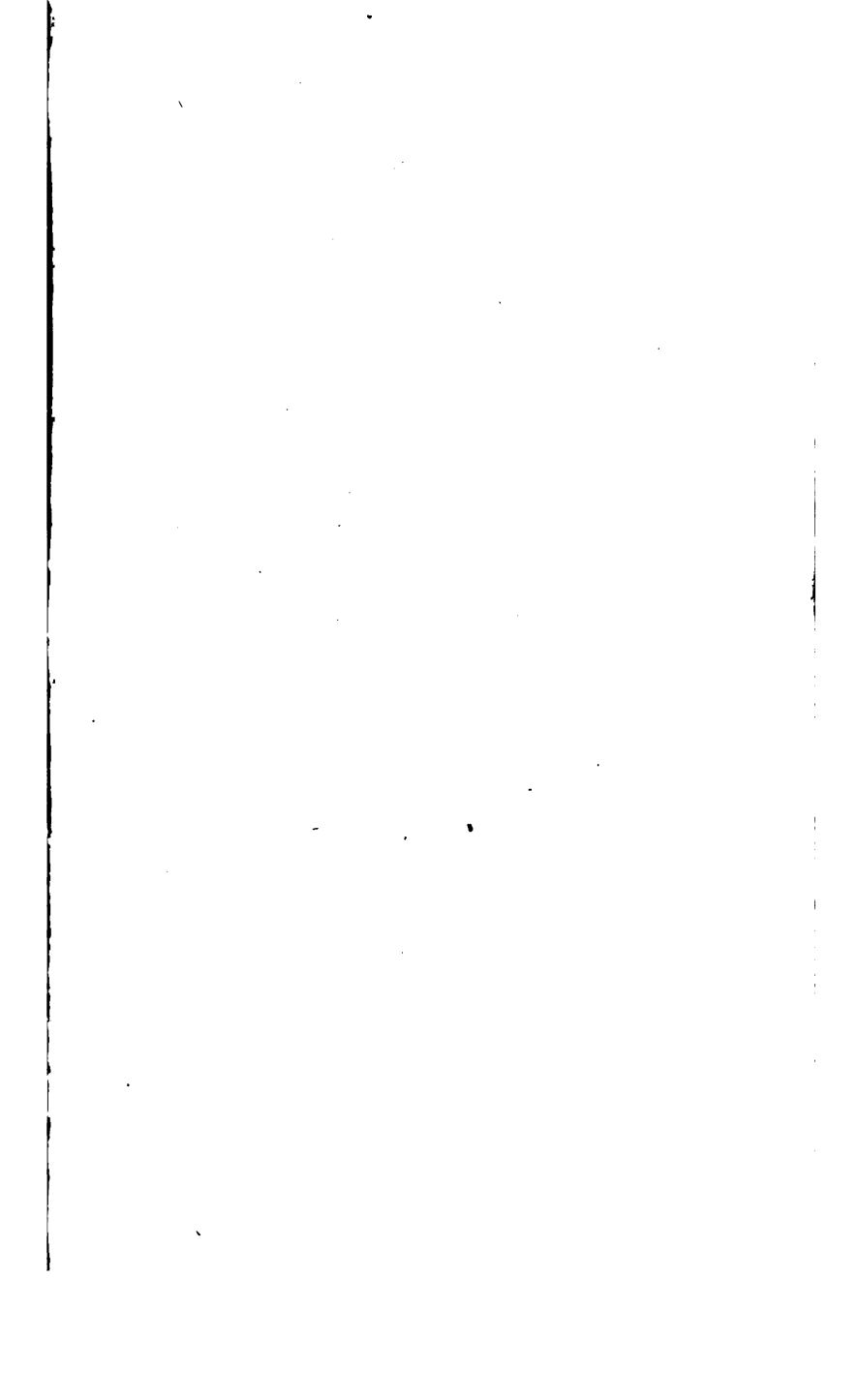
§ *Vide p. 7.*

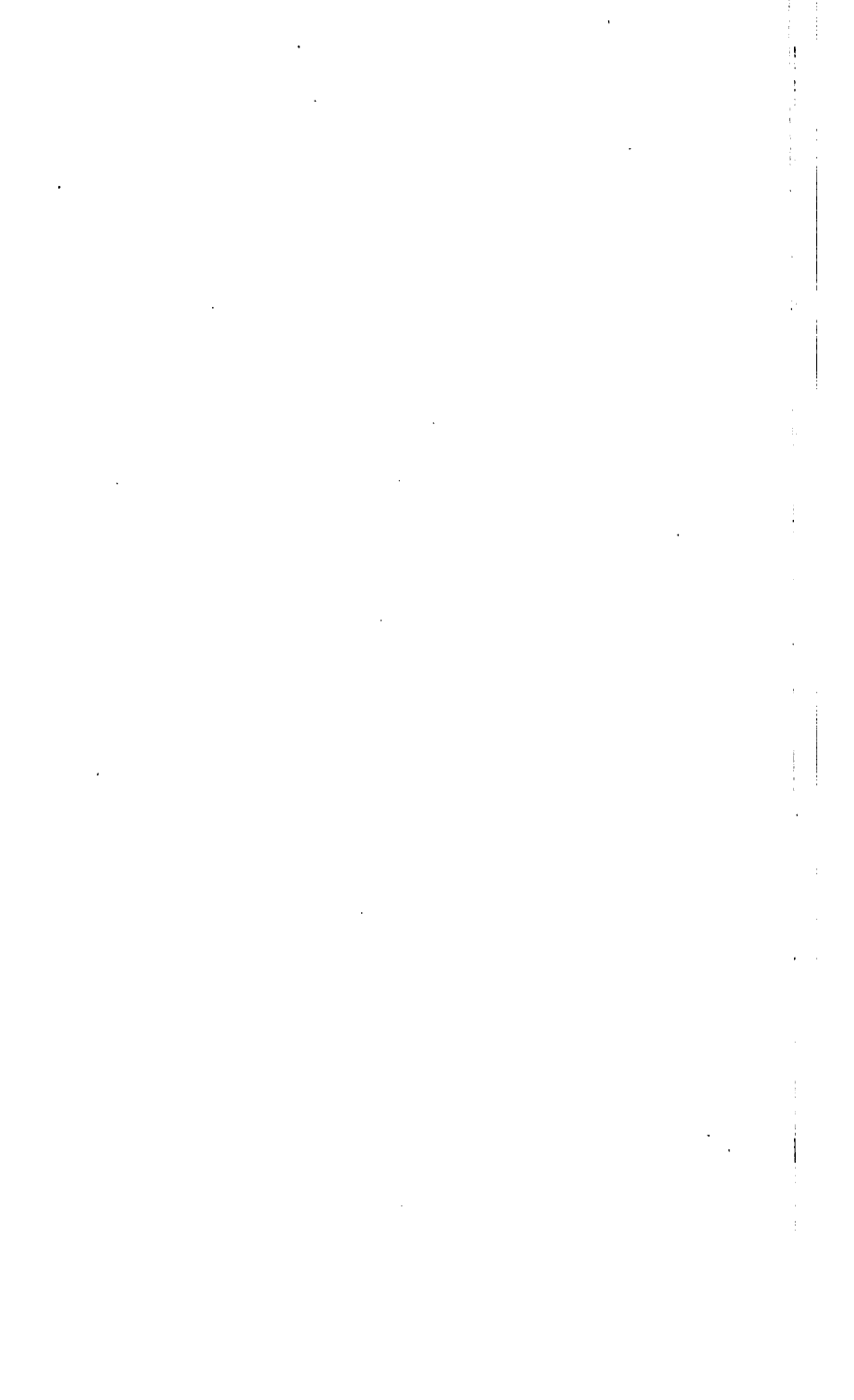
¶ *Fast. lib. v. 621.*

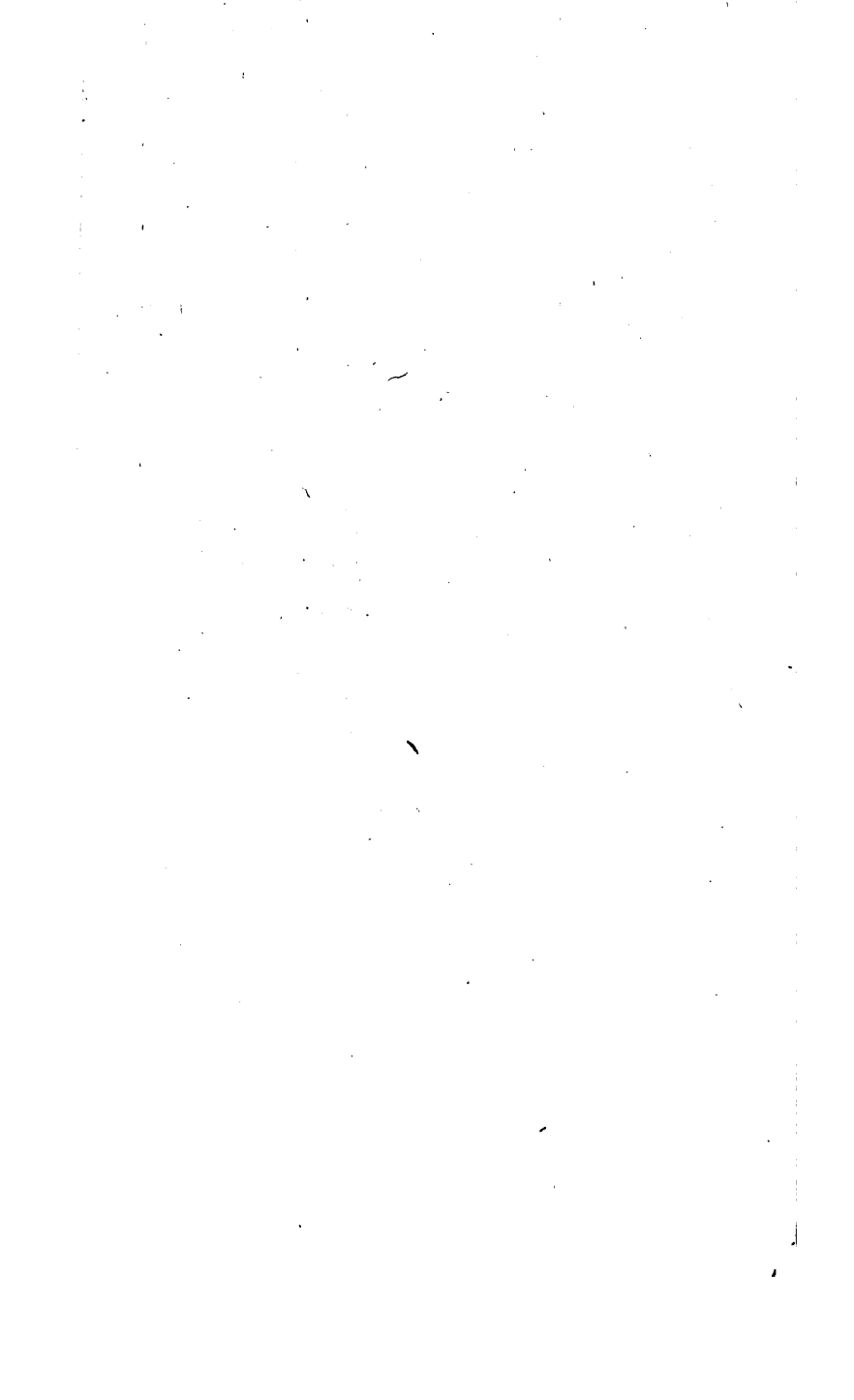
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